BLISS vs. GOLDWATER

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JULY 13, 1965

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

Professor Will Herberg Wonders When Professors Will Grow Up?

William Stokes Has Hard Words and Kind Thoughts for Latin America

Charles Rice Asks Whether a Prayer Amendment Is Coming &

Thomas Molnar Describes the Ungentle Ways of Marshal Tito

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

→ **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** tells all, or almost all, about the reasons that lie behind his decision to run for Mayor of New York City. The statement was read at a press conference June 24, and is followed by a partial transcript of the give-and-take with the newsmen. It turns out that running for Mayor was the only practical thing to do—engineering surveys having indicated that it would not be feasible to saw New York off and let it float out to sea. . . . **M. Stanton Evans,** the incisive editor of the *Indianapolis News*, analyzes the horror with which the press greeted the election of conservative Tom Van Sickle as Chairman of the Young Republican National Federation. . . . Prof. **Charles E. Rice** of Fordham, a don of constitutional law, author of a book on prayer and public schooling, and State Vice Chairman of the New York Conservative Party, discusses the odds on getting a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in schools. . . . Prof. **William S. Stokes,** chairman of the political science dept. at Claremont Men's College, takes a long and careful look at the "population problem" in Latin America. It is not what most people think it is, he says, and the solution for it is even more unthinkable if not downright inconceivable. . . . Prof. **Thomas Molnar** does honor to a courageous counterpart, the young Prof. Mihajlo Mihajlov of Yugoslavia, who went to Russia as an exchange teacher, saw much, wrote down what he saw, published it in Yugoslavia, and was clapped in jail. Where, asks Molnar, are the American professors who should "teach-in" a protest against Tito's tyranny?

→ Is President Johnson serious about Vietnam, asks **James Burnham,** and *can* he be serious? Certainly the Sino-Soviet enterprise is serious. But no more serious, if history be our guide, than Khrushchev was about keeping missiles in Cuba. . . . **Frank S. Meyer** lets loose at three kinds of heresy—theological, philosophical, political—as embodied in Teilhard de Chardin, Freud, and Marx. All three, he says, attack the foundation of Western civilization by attacking the concept of the person. . . . Prof. **Will Herberg** of Drew University sees something new on the national scene and doesn't like it. It's the idea, implicit in the professorial "teach-ins" around the country, that the possession of a Ph.D. and tenure entitles one to official recognition as a consultant in the creation of national policy.

→ Prof. **Stefan T. Possony** gives a qualified rave to Herman Kahn's latest essay on strategy, *On Escalation, Metaphors and Scenarios*. . . . **Sir Shane Leslie** reviews two new books about Churchill, one first-rate and the other by son Randolph. The great works are still to come, says Sir Shane, and they will be based on the enormous collection of Churchill papers. . . . Fr. **Stanley Parry** of Notre Dame likes the new book by Prof. Harry Jaffa, and *we* like the discourse on political theory that Jaffa's work inspires Fr. Parry to write. . . . And **Arlene Croce** went to the ballet, saw Dame Margot and Gospodin Rudi, and won't ever be the same again. →

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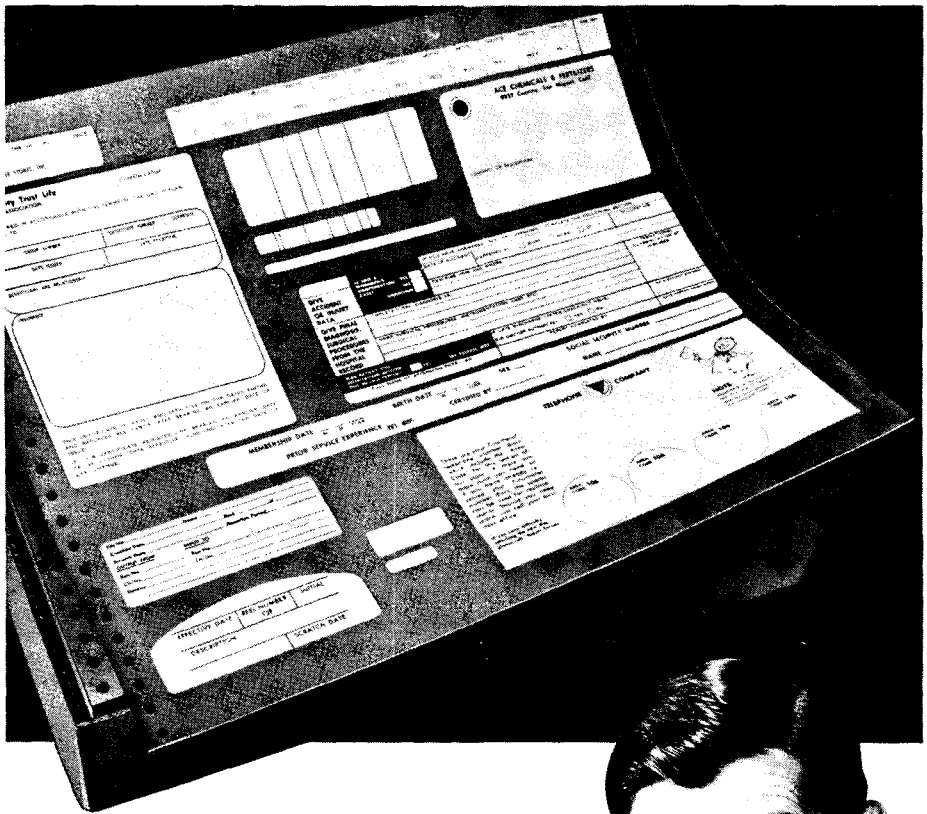

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TO THE EDITOR

Chamberlain on 14 (b)

I am a fairly new subscriber to *NR* and the wife of a Teamster. Have just finished (from beginning to end) the June 15 issue. Your cover was excellent and so was the article, "The Strange Case Against Fourteen-B." I would love to have reprints on both to hand out at the door after the next union meeting. But my husband would probably lose his job . . . and we don't have right-to-work in California.

San Diego, Calif. PAT JAMESON

While the idea of union concern over "freedom of contract" may be enough to draw horse laughs from a convocation of wooden Indians, John Chamberlain's concern for the principle of voluntarism or rather his means of maintaining that principle (through right-to-work laws), drew winces of pain from me.

Mr. Chamberlain admits readily enough the respectability of the freedom contract argument providing that unions had no special-privilege legislation backing them up, but he fails to draw the obvious logical conclusion—that instead of decreasing union power through right-to-work laws it would be better to decrease that power through abolition of the legislation that conferred it in the first place.

You may, of course, reply that such is not now politically possible. True. But if your long-range goal is to maintain a smoothly-working free-market economy, then you had best work for a reduction of government control over that economy.

Conservatives should thus support repeal of 14(b) and then, while the shock is still great and wondrous to behold, begin working for the repeal of the legislation that gives unions their inordinate power.

Webster Grooves, Mo. STEPHEN C. SCOTT

I would like to offer my utmost praise to Mr. Chamberlain and NATIONAL REVIEW for the enlightening article on repeal of 14 (b). The point of retaining this section of the Taft-Hartley Act is summed up by this modern adage: "Good unions don't need compulsory membership; bad unions don't deserve it!"

Wilmette, Ill. LEE H. BRUEMMER

More in the Breach

In the June 15 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, John Chamberlain wrote the following sentence: "In Indiana the existence of a right-to-work law was more honored in the breach than in the observance." The June 5 issue of the *Evening Bulletin* (Philadelphia) contained a column by

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Raymond Moley in which he stated that a section of the Taft-Hartley bill which forbids unions and corporations to make constant contributions to candidates running for federal office "has been more honored in the breach than in the observance."

My question is a Shakespearean one: did not Messrs. Chamberlain and Moley use "more honored in the breach than in the observance" incorrectly? If I read them correctly, they meant that it was the custom to ignore the law rather than to obey it to the letter. But such a use of the phrase seems to be in direct contradiction to Hamlet's use of the same phrase (*Hamlet*: Act I, scene IV). In the play Hamlet has been asked by Horatio if it is the custom in Denmark for the king to "wake tonight and take his rouse," drink "his draughts of Rhenish down," while "the kettle drum and trumpet thus bray out the triumph of his pledge." Hamlet's answer:

Ay, marry, is't:
But to my mind, though I am native here
And to the manner born, it is a custom
More honour'd in the breach than in the observance . . .

The passage seems to indicate, to me at least, that the custom is at its best when it is least observed. Hamlet is ashamed of the custom of keeping wassail, and for good reason: it is because of this that Danes are "traduced and tax'd of other nations." Thus it would seem that the phrase "more honored in the breach than in the observance" should not be used as a substitute for "more ignored than observed" but, rather, for "more desirable when least performed."

Roslyn, Pa. WILLIAM F. GAVIN

Good point.—Ed.

Pro-Columbian

While *NR's* Columbia correspondent gave an accurate account, as far as it went, of the recent disturbance there. ["Columbia Buckles Under," June 15] he omitted some of the most interesting events and, in doing so, missed a good deal of the point. First of all, he perhaps inadvertently leaves the impression that the group which sponsored the protest meeting (which erupted into the demonstration forcing the cancellation of the NROTC ceremony) is a purely local operation. Not so. The "Columbia University Independent Committee on Vietnam" was quite openly formed as a single-issue front for the May 2 Movement, which in turn is a front for the Progressive Labor Movement, which is, etc. Mr. Bell also seems to contend that, despite a wishy-washy and vacillating non-policy in the post-demonstration period, the Columbia administration finally shaped up and called in the New York police in force to insure that the re-scheduled ceremony was not disrupted. On the contrary, the stronger case seems to be that the administration's well defined, rigidly enforced, and eminently reasonable policy was the principal factor which prevented the dedicated (and noisy) minority aligned with the demonstrators from Berkeleyizing Morningside Heights, an end to which they not so secretly aspired.

The rescheduled ceremony was picketed with restraint by the probationers (with signs saying "End ROTC At Columbia"—on the backs of the signs were the crossed-out legends "End ROTC At Cornell"). As Mr. Bell indicated, the police were visible in the background in great numbers. He attributes the diminished number of pickets (about 40, against 200 on the earlier occasion) and their relative dignity (*very* relative) to the policemen's presence. I think he is wrong—the operative factor was the administration's principled, deliberate, and damn shrewd handling of a potentially explosive situation, a handling which Mr. Bell misunderstood and condemned.

New York, N.Y. JOHN SHELTON REED JR.

A Reply

Mr. Reed's statement that the Independent Committee on Vietnam was "formed as a single-issue front for the May 2 Movement" is a solecism, since the May 2 Movement is *itself* a single-issue front for the multi-issue Progressive Labor Party. Furthermore, I investigated the question of a link between the two groups and, although it is clear there are a number of interlocking memberships, there is no conclusive evidence that May 2 controls the Independent Committee; on the contrary, just before my article went to press the Independent Committee repudiated and condemned language used by May 2 elements in a circular bearing the "Independent" label; in the circumstances, it seemed prudent to describe the Independent Committee (somewhat whimsically) as the "more moderate" of the two groups.

As to the "principled" and "well-defined" nature of the University's policy, I suggest that Mr. Reed 1) examine the violent discrepancies between the University memorandum of May 11 and the May 17 report of the special committee (in which students who picketed the picketers were also "censured" and in which the policemen praised in the earlier account were said to have "aggravated an already confused situation"); and 2) try to justify the University's contention that "censure"—which permits the students to continue as active members of their organizations—is a severer form of punishment than disciplinary probation, which prohibits such activity and is entered on a student's permanent record.

Has the University's handling (including President Kirk's admirable remarks in his Commencement speech, which I

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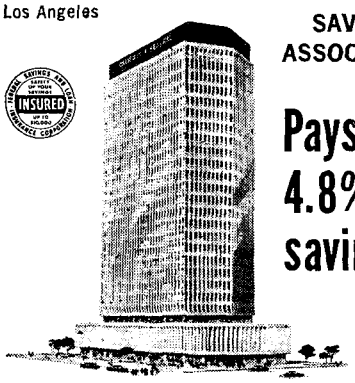

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regrettably could not include in the article) served to prevent a repetition at Columbia? Well, Mr. Reed has his prognostications and I have mine.

New York, N.Y. EDWARD J. BELL

Where's Soapy?

I read with great interest Gilbert Comte's "Letter from Africa" re the new nation of Niger [June 15]. Usually, we do not read of the emerging nations of the Dark Continent until they are in the midst of serious rebellions, seeking Soviet aid, quoting Communist diatribes against the United States, etc., etc., etc. Consequently, it would be of interest to know just how well informed is the present Administration and what steps have been initiated by the State Department to assure the continued democratic growth of this vast anti-Communist region.

Brooklyn, N.Y. EILEEN M. FERGUSON

Freud and Privacy

Far from being a "shrewd" observation, it is not even an informed one to assert that Sigmund Freud "did more to deprive people of their privacy than any man who ever lived," ["What We Need Is a Law," Wm. F. Buckley, June 1]. Such a claim reflects the popular failure to distinguish between the *method* of freudian psychoanalysis (of which inviolable privacy is the *sine qua non*) and the *content* of psychoanalytic findings (which are subject to non-scientific, *i.e.*, propagandistic misuse). Freud is no more responsible for the intrusive uses of psychoanalytic language than is Alexander Graham Bell for wire-tapping.

The necessary privacy of the analytic method explains the nonexistence of psychoanalysis in totalitarian states.

Baltimore, Md. HAZEN G. KNIFFIN JR., MD.

GOP and the JBS

Neal Freeman's report (June 29) on the Derounian defeat in the 1964 election is a revealing story, but he draws the wrong conclusion from it. It is an aberration to attribute results to the weapon used. If it hadn't been the JBS, it would have been something else.

The event illustrates once again what all Democrats know, that an SOB can beat a nice guy in a political contest. He takes the offensive and he dishes it out. Truman did it to Dewey, Kennedy did it to Nixon, Johnson did it to Goldwater and Wolff did it to Derounian.

McLean, Va. T. A. LANE

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The WEEK

● Do you want to learn how to set up an effective organization for a "protest movement"? What direction to face if the police use tear gas? What sort of clothes to wear to a sit-in? How to place your co-members among the audience at a mass meeting? How to deal with police and wardens? How to prepare demonstrations? You'll get some useful tips in the just-published *A Manual for Direct Action*, by Martin Oppenheimer and George Lakey, foreword by that veteran direct actor, Bayard Rustin, organizer of the March on Washington. It comes packaged with plenty of this-&-that about "non-violence" and "creativity," but you'll get the point.

● *From a letter written May 19 to the editor of the* New York Times, *and not as yet published by the* Times: Your editorial of May 19 on the poll tax repeats President Johnson's statement of April 27, "I have always opposed the poll tax. I am opposed to it now." Yet Mr. Jack Bell, who has covered Washington for the Associated Press for thirty years, writes in his recent book about Mr. Johnson that he (Johnson) "voted against anti-poll tax bills in 1942, 1943, 1945, 1947, and 1950." (See *The Johnson Treatment*, p. 159.) The President was merely indulging in the politician's custom of twisting the record. . . . Sincerely yours, William F. Rickenbacker, NATIONAL REVIEW.

● *Along the right-to-work front.* On June 7 the Supreme Court struck down a federal law making it a crime for a Communist to serve as a union official. If this decision stands, and Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley law is repealed as President Johnson has requested, then American workers throughout the 50 states could be compelled to pay dues to Communist-dominated unions. Rep. William Ford (D., Mich.), sitting on the House Labor Subcommittee, suggested at one session that workers who don't want to be forced to join Communist-dominated unions are "cowards." The Subcommittee chairman, Rep. Frank Thompson (D., N.J.), berated any workers who wanted to testify against repeal of 14 (b), calling them management "shills."

● Group Research, Inc., which is the *Schmierbund* financed by the AFL-CIO to parry the Threat From The Right, has turned in its annual report on how we're doing. We're doing just fine, it says there. We are spending Thirty Million Dollars a year, and more and more dough is coming in all the time. Little old ladies in tennis shoes send in their dimes, and Big Business has the unspeakable audacity to advertise in conservative magazines. Interlocking directorships, unsavory conspiracies, clever little tax-exempt foundations! How very rich and how very evil are we here on the Radical Right! But beneath GRI's witch-hunting there is a serious thrust, the selective assault on conservative-minded organizations that qualify for tax exemption under the law. Before the campaign is finished, Washington must decide whether tax exemption is the exclusive privilege of the Liberal-Leftist-Loopholier-than-thou types.

● Let us now deplore the U.S. House of Representatives, which voted on June 30—208 to 202—to pass what can surely be held up as one of this season's least reasonable White House whims, the "rent subsidy" bill. This bit of wizardry would have the Federal Government paying rent for families that want to live in apartments whose landlords are asking more than 25 per cent of the families' income, Gov to pay whatever the man says over the magic 25 per cent. There are limits, of course, to make sure Mr. and Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor are not beneficed flat-wise, but the mischief remains. Hundreds of thousands of landlords and contractors will enjoy subsidized demand, and millions of families will refuse to earn or forget to report income in order to qualify for better living at a lower tab.

● After a long and painful period of vacillation, projecting the Hard-Soft schizophrenia in our State Department, it looks as though U.S. Dominican policy is coming back on the beam. The prospect now is that an OAS interim administration will organize elections within the year, and that the distinguished former President Joachim Balaguer will be permitted to run against a man of the moderate Left. The major share of the credit for dropping the absurd plan for a coalition headed by a Boschite goes not to the Hards in the State Department, but to our OAS neighbors. The special OAS report on the May uprising (virtually ignored by the American press) not only confirmed but reinforced the original United States findings of widespread Communist participation and influence in the rebel movement, and it was the OAS task force, led by Brazilians, that ruled that rebel participation in any coalition was simply impossible; that an OAS interim administration was necessary; and that Balaguer should be permitted to run despite his past connections with Trujillo. In this case, "world opinion" in the relevant Hemisphere not only declined to condemn U.S. intervention, but corroborated the causes that led to intervention, and approved of that intervention.

● *"Monsieur X" est mort.* The verdict was pronounced after an all-night meeting in Marseilles when

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leaders of the French MRP (Christian Democrats), Socialist and Radical parties reluctantly abandoned the idea of fielding a single candidate, Gaston Defferre, the Socialist mayor of Marseilles, against Charles de Gaulle this fall. Defferre had been considered the leading presidential contender ever since the influential leftist *l'Express* had described a hypothetical "Monsieur X" behind whom all anti-Gaullists to the right of the Communist Party could unite. Leaders of the three major parties that had dominated the Fourth Republic went into the meeting with the best intentions: but the rivalries were too deep, the ideological gaps too wide. The failure of the anti-Gaullist front makes it clearer than ever that there are only two political forces in France today: Gaullism and Communism.

● South Korean President Chung Hee Park—declining to follow the example of our university faculties, chancellors and regents—stood firm before the Communist-stirred student demonstrations designed, in the Korean case, to block completion of the treaty with Japan. Its formal signing by both governments on June 22 was an event of multiple promise. On South Korea's part its implicit erasure of past bitterness was an act of high statesmanship as well as practical prudence. With the two nations linked now as sovereign equals, Japanese capital and skills can join productively with South Korean manpower and mineral resources. At the same time, the treaty marks the end of Japan's postwar convalescence and her re-entry into the main global stream. Peking will be the first to sense the reality of Japan's swiftly reviving strength in the Pacific equilibrium.

● For fifteen years many of the stanchest anti-Communist organizations and individuals of the Asian nations have been linked in the Asian People's Anti-Communist League. Each year the League holds a major international conference in one of the Asian capitals, at which delegates official, unofficial and underground from Asia, along with observers from Africa, Europe and the Americas, report on activities within their own countries and discuss plans for the future. This year's conference will be held in Manila, in September. Through the initiative of the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange (79 Madison Ave., New York 10016, N.Y.) six young Americans will be present. The committee of selection that examined the hundred detailed applications for the special grants declared itself hard put to it, such was the level of academic and civic achievement among the applicants, to squeeze the list down to the half dozen permitted by available funds.

● GROVES OF ACADEME, RUTGERS DIVISION. "Those of you who know me know that I am a Marxist and a socialist," said Instructor-without-tenure Eugene D. Genovese at a Rutgers teach-in. Rutgers, where Instructor Genovese teaches American History, is a publicly financed college, and his statement touched off a wave of protests. But there seemed to be no problem, since an untenured instructor could easily be dismissed. But, surprise surprise, he wasn't. In fact, the title is now Assistant Professor Eugene D. Genovese—with tenure, if you please, university officials having promoted him almost immediately following his statement.

● HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, WHY STAY IN SCHOOL? WHY WASTE YOUR TIME? DROPOUT!—so urges a flyer of the I(nternational) W(orkers) of the W(orld), placing itself smack athwart the Great Society. The reason the Great Society wants to keep students in school, according to the IWW, is very simply that "that will keep you [the students] from joining in sit-ins, picketlines, Freedom Rides, rent strikes, and other protest actions against discrimination and exploitation." So drop out! Join the Gang! and with a hey and a ho, and a hey nonino, it's to the streets we go-go-go!

● Announcement that Gomulka has been re-elected by a 99.3 per cent vote touched off this comment in Warsaw. God showed Eve to Adam and said: "Now choose a wife."

Here We Go Again

We are seeing the revival of the Communist Front type organization, that sneaky device by which the gullible were gulled during the 1930s and the 1940s into lending their influence to help the Communists conceal a truth. It was primarily through front organizations that the Communists protested the innocence of Stalin's purge trials, alleging that attacks on them were fascist-inspired; through fronts that they opposed the Marshall Plan, suggesting it was the creation of warmongers; through fronts that they sought to destroy investigating committees of Congress, denouncing them as instruments for the harassment of innocent people.

One would have thought that the publicity given during the fifties to the operations of front groups would have made wise men wary. Perhaps wise men *are* now wary—in which case we must deduce the unwisdom of the poor preposterous souls who have given their names to an organization called "Artists Protest," which is taking newspaper ads around the country, urging a denunciation of President Johnson's foreign policy.

How does one identify a Communist front? By definition, the job is not easy. If it were instantly

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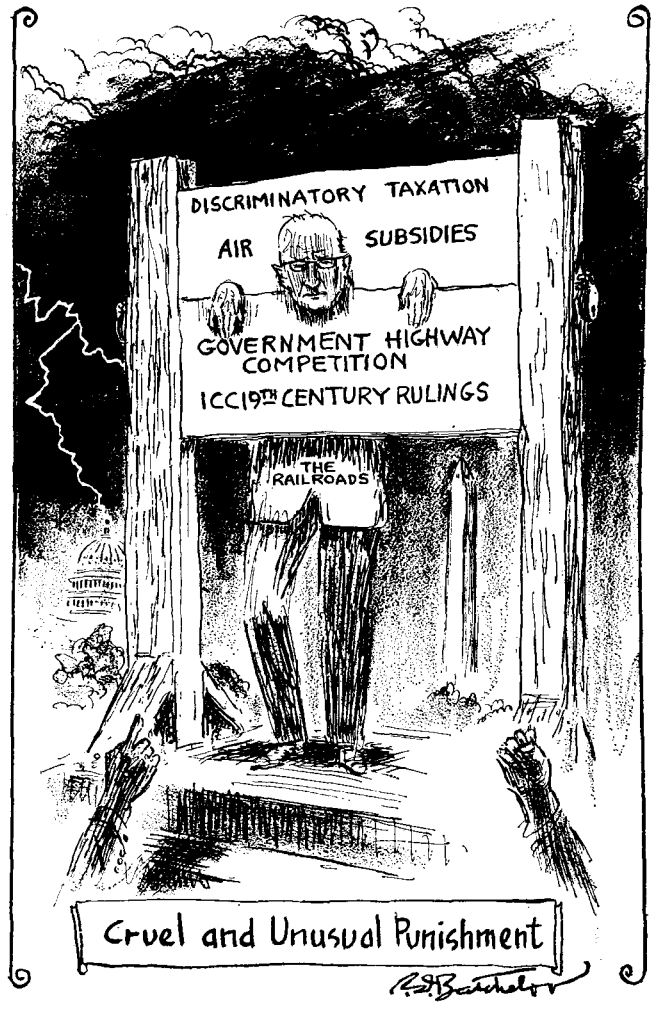
recognizable as such, the whole point of the thing would be lost. By definition, a front desires respectability; desires to conceal the truth it is engaged in concealing by leeching on to the prestige of people whose integrity is taken for granted.

Apart from the obvious fact that the goals will be in accord with Communist objectives, the first thing to look for in political manifestos that touch on points of friction between East and West is any trace of anti-Communism. It is an extraordinary thing—and one wonders and wonders why the Communists over the years have been so steadfastly lacking in subtlety—but it is almost uniformly the case that no Communist front will criticize any word, thought, or deed of the Communists, not even in the high cause of plausibility. During the 1930s, for instance, when Stalin's purge trials were being defended, you would never see a manifesto that began, "There is no doubting that great atrocities have been committed by Stalin's regime, but criticisms of the current purge trials are unfounded, hypocritical," etc., etc. "Artists Protest" did not begin its manifesto by saying: "There is no doubting that the peace of Southeast Asia is primarily threatened by Communist imperialism, and that unspeakable atrocities have been committed by Communist-armed and Communist-guided guerrillas in South Vietnam—however, the United States cannot fight a successful war in that part of the world . . .," etc., etc.

Not a word, not a single word in the manifesto of "Artists Protest" referring to the atrocities of the enemy—but there are denunciations of the activities by analogy with those of the French in Algeria, of our own troops. Not a word denouncing the foreign policy of the Communists—but our own foreign policy is "grown more nakedly inhuman with each passing day." No word about Communist aggression in Vietnam or in the Dominican Republic or anywhere else—but a denunciation of the "plans for United States hegemony." Our own foreign policy is, get this, "*justifiably* interpreted, both abroad and here at home, as aggression." We are asked, in other words, to believe that President Johnson's repeated declarations that we desire to achieve no imperialistic purpose in Vietnam or in the Dominican Republic, even though these statements are corroborated by a generation's diplomatic history, are simply bald lies. Who desires to promote such untruths? *Cui bono?*

Then, secondly, one looks to see who are the signers of the manifesto. Our eye is by now unpracticed at remembering anything like the names of everyone identified after painful and exhaustive investigation, by sworn witnesses, as Communist Party members. Even so, we spotted instantly about 25 such persons. Then there was the usual tier of old-timers, a dozen-odd who used to do the same kind of thing way back in the thirties, presenting excuses for every act of Communist aggression. Finally, the fresh bunch of naifs. Including some very surprising names, for instance that of the eccentric critic Dwight Macdonald, who wrote a book on the practices of "the Stalinoids" when he denounced the candidacy of Henry Wallace back in 1947, and who now falls into exactly the same ambush he used to criticize others so scorchingly for falling into. The organizing secretary of the Committee has been identified under oath as a Communist.

One of the signers of this travesty, Mr. Victor Perlo, was, according to sworn testimony, the active leader, at one point in American history, of a Communist espionage ring. Another, Professor Paul Sweezy, announced at a public debate a week or so ago that he considered Mao Tse-tung and Fidel Castro as among the greatest men alive. Other protesting "artists" include a more or less professional pornographer (Lyle Stuart), a homosexual exhibitionist (Allen Ginsberg), a sick playwright (LeRoi Jones). All in all quite a gathering—of Communists, dupes, eccentrics, and perverts, whose present activity is justifiably interpreted, both abroad and at home, as representative of the underside of the American soul.



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Focus on WASHINGTON

Just two weeks ago, GOP National Committee Chairman Ray Bliss seemed to have found the peace and quiet he had always wanted. The Goldwater loyalist had departed in silence and his own people had moved in. Then all of a sudden the place was a mob scene. First, Chairman Bliss went to Miami as official observer and guest speaker at the Young Republican National Convention. Chairman Bliss not only had the bad form to get caught lobbying for one of the candidates for YR National Chairman, but the bad sense to be backing the losing candidate. The winner, State Senator Tom Van Sickle of Kansas, now moves to 1625 Eye Street, Washington, D.C., where he will share the offices of Chairman Bliss. Second, there was the now infamous desk-rifling incident. William Cody Kelly, who was to Bliss what Ted Sorensen was to Jack Kennedy, was a bit overzealous in his quest for knowledge, and crowbarred open the desk of Finance Director Frank Kovac to examine some of the latter's personal correspondence. Kovac objected, loudly. Bliss, was, of course, forced to ask for Kelly's resignation. Kelly's departure has thrown the National Committee into a turmoil, for Kelly was responsible in large measure for the administration of day-to-day operations. Third, there is the continuing problem of Barry Goldwater's Free Society Association, and the special problems it presents to Republican fund-raisers and policy-makers. Bliss made the tactical error of denouncing the formation of the FSA while omitting mention of the numerous extra-party groups which have split off to the Left. Conservative Republicans were annoyed; it seemed to indicate a basic anti-conservatism in the supposedly non-ideological Mr. Bliss. Fourth, Bliss ran into the demands of the rambunctiously Republican South at the National Committee meeting: Dick Edens, South Caroline state chairman and architect of the recent Albert Watson landslide victory, sued for a vacant vice chairmanship, and Mississippi State Chairman Wirt Yerger sniped at Pennsylvania Chairman Craig Truax, who was running interference for the Liberal members of the Republican Governors Conference.

◆ One of the more improbable turns of the political wheel has left McGeorge Bundy as the hardest of the hards in the Johnson Administration. To cover himself, LBJ has now appointed two "assistants" to Bundy: Texas crony Horace Busby and Washington newsman Douglass Cater. Busby is a pragmatist, as the Liberals now describe themselves, and Cater is a Liberal, as the leftists now describe themselves. In tandem, they will try to deflect the hard-driving Bundy, Busby by maneuvering backstage at the White House, Cater by mobilizing the academic community in support of a "modulated" approach to the critical situation in Santo Domingo and South Vietnam. The Johnson Treatment on Bundy has revealed a new twist: LBJ's rationalization for downgrading Bundy is that "Mac is overworked," which formula hasn't been used since Walter Jenkins.

◆ You had to look closely last week, but the signs were unmistakably there: Hubert Humphrey, who has these many months been dutifully shy and unassuming, was taking his first tentative step out into the open, out from unter den Lyndon. Humphrey probably would have gotten away unnoticed if he had not chosen Texas as the site of his first indiscretion—nothing in Texas escapes the sweep of Lyndon's antennae. The occasion was a President's Club dinner and Humphrey was the featured speaker. He was, as has been his custom since Lyndon told him to act like a Regular Guy, taking the business line. But one of Texas' top labor bosses messed up his act. Said boss wanted to know why Humphrey had reneged on his campaign promise to speak at the AFL-CIO state convention later this summer. Humphrey, obviously stung, was reported to have said, "I'm trying to come to your convention. If we can get by Connally, I'll be there." What Humphrey meant was that he had been called off by LBJ, presumably at the insistence of Texas Governor John Connally, a longtime LBJ crony and probably Senate candidate in 1966 against Republican incumbent John Tower. Connally is on record against repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. Connally is, for this reason and others, persona non grata with organized labor. It will be interesting to see if Humphrey *can* get by Connally.

◆ Jim Eldridge, bon vivant, pen-pal of Harold Macmillan, former speech-writer for Adlai Stevenson, Eugene Pulliam's Liberal friend, National Press Club raconteur, and the man who will do for John Henry Cardinal Newman what Hal Holbrook did for Mark Twain, has got everyone in this town to playing this month's Washington Game (they were playing it simultaneously at Pearl's and Teddy's): suggesting titles for the world's-thinnest-books series. First entries in the international series were: "Presidential Papers of Richard Nixon," "Famous Italian War Heroes," and "Great Chefs of Britain." Also, "The Mistakes I Have Made" by Lyndon Johnson, and "Family Planning" by Bobby Kennedy. Some of the others are less charitable and may stunt the growth of more than one budding career.

—CATO

Dow Jones Industrials, RIP

On June 29 the volume of trading on the New York Stock Exchange was the greatest since 1962. The Dow Jones Industrial Average went up eight points, dipped thirteen, and finished with a gaudy upward swoop of almost sixteen points. During the wild day, 452 issues touched new lows for the year and not a single one made a new high. The market has dropped a hundred points since May. It remains three hundred points above the low of 1962. Trading continues to be hectic. What goes on here?

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For one thing, Wall Street is not the chance victim of a sportive destiny. From Threadneedle Street to Hollard Street to the Ginza, in Rome and Paris and Frankfurt, Amsterdam and Zurich and Jo-burg, stock prices have been falling. Theoretically there can be as many different reasons for the worldwide decline in stock prices as there are different people selling shares. In practice there can be one or two main forces that determine the course of markets for a period of months.

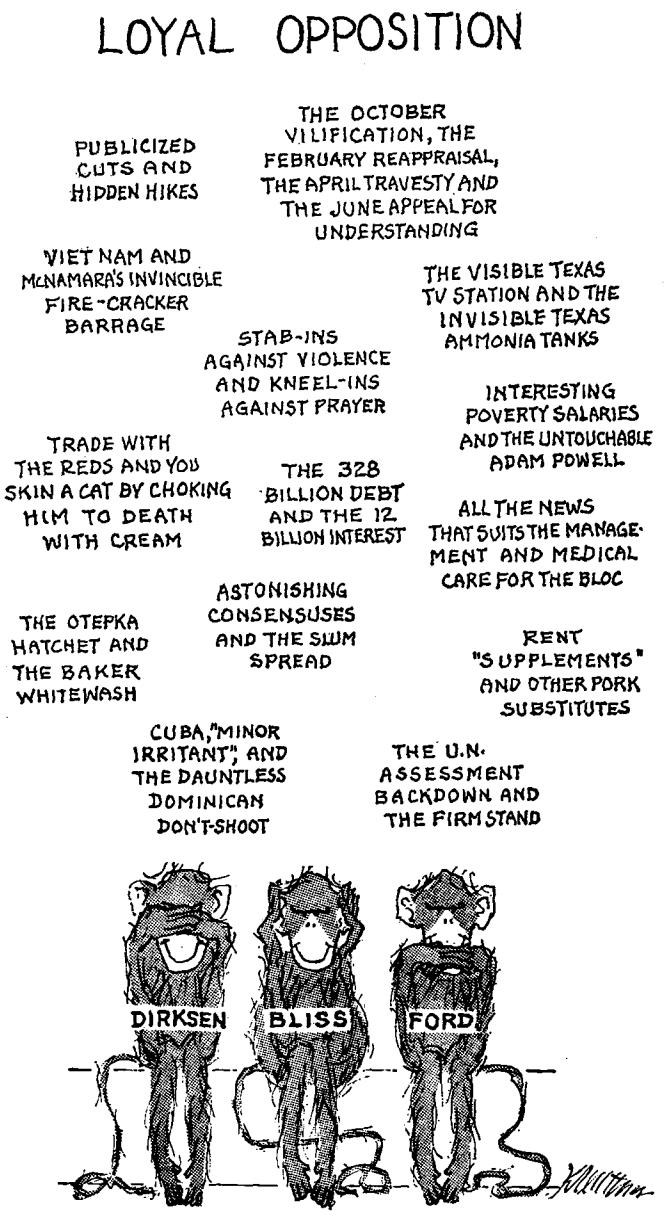
One immediate force that must be considered is the pressure on the British pound. Britain, for two centuries a massive exporter of capital, can no longer afford its old habits. In defense of the pound the British portfolios abroad might be liquidated—and don't belittle the effect of $60 billion of securities coming onto the market.

But the troubles of the pound, and of the dollar for that matter, should be traced back to the more general cause, which is the worldwide inflation of the past three decades. The economic theories that have captivated our modern rulers hold that inflation is a stimulant—and so it is, for a while. But the inflationary process cannot be continued forever, because it rests upon a hidden assumption which happens to be false: the assumption that every debt is good, *i.e.*, that every debt will be paid off, *i.e.*, that in these democratic days every man's credit is just as good as every other man's credit. Statisticians can tell us to the penny what the sum of bank credit is; but central bank managers cannot know the *quality* of that credit, spread as it is through millions and millions of different loans.

There are many signs of domestic liquidation of debt (bank failures, mortgage foreclosures, instalment payment defaults, and so on) and of a movement towards international liquidation also. In the long run it is healthy to be rid of dislocations and illusions. The myth that the Dow Jones Industrials only go up and never go down, the myth that perennial inflation brings uninterrupted expansion, the myth that a run on the dollar is unthinkable—these myths we can do without very nicely. If a swift financial shock brings Washington to its senses, we should welcome it, and start to work on the soundly based prosperity that could be its aftermath.

Buy Me a Coffin

Lloyds of London is supposed to be willing to insure against almost any risk in this world, and has already written policies covering the moon and Mars, but Lloyds quotes no rates on the survival of Saigon governments. Since the assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem, South Vietnam has been, in truth, non-governed, and this is both effect and partial cause of


LOYAL OPPOSITION
PUBLICIZED CUTS AND HIDDEN HIKES
THE OCTOBER VILIFICATION, THE FEBRUARY REAPPRAISAL, THE APRIL TRAVESTY AND THE JUNE APPEAL FOR UNDERSTANDING
VIET NAM AND McNAMARA'S INVINCIBLE FIRE-CRACKER BARRAGE
THE VISIBLE TEXAS TV STATION AND THE INVISIBLE TEXAS AMMONIA TANKS
STAB-INS AGAINST VIOLENCE AND KNEEL-INS AGAINST PRAYER
INTERESTING POVERTY SALARIES AND THE UNTOUCHABLE ADAM POWELL
TRADE WITH THE REDS AND YOU SKIN A CAT BY CHOKING HIM TO DEATH WITH CREAM
THE 328 BILLION DEBT AND THE 12 BILLION INTEREST
ALL THE NEWS THAT SUITS THE MANAGEMENT AND MEDICAL CARE FOR THE BLOC
ASTONISHING CONSENSUSES AND THE SLUM SPREAD
THE OTEPKA HATCHET AND THE BAKER WHITEWASH
RENT "SUPPLEMENTS" AND OTHER PORK SUBSTITUTES
CUBA, "MINOR IRRITANT", AND THE DAUNTLESS DOMINICAN DON'T-SHOOT
THE U.N. ASSESSMENT BACKDOWN AND THE FIRM STAND
DIRKSEN
BLISS
FORD

the difficulties in the field. The precedents discourage prophecy, but somehow the newest Premier, General Nguyen Cao Ky, seems to be of a different breed from the post-Diem parade. Under the chaotic circumstances, an effective South Vietnamese Government can crystallize only around a man, an authentic and resolute leader. General Ky is the first who has shown any hint of the needed qualifications.

He is, to begin with, young, brave and picturesque. As its commander, he has transformed the South Vietnamese air force into a bold and serious fighting arm, and he is a commander who flies into combat with his men. He wears the distinctive black uniform and purple scarf that mark the pilots as an elite force (the *Than Phong*—"divine wind," roughly a translation of the Japanese *kamikaze*). Like General Patton, Ky fancies a pearl-handled revolver.

His kind of speech on taking office had not been

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Special 16-page Supplement on the *Population Explosion*
Articles by Garry Wills,
Theodore Sturgeon, Dr.
Alan Guttmacher, Pyrrho

heard before. He reviewed the grim facts—a ruined countryside, "internal decay, intellectual stagnation and inflation." With a hard eye cast on Saigon's fleshpots, he proclaimed a program of realism and austerity: a crackdown on espionage, terror, and idleness, on "speculators, profiteers and black marketers." (To show what he meant, he ordered sandbags piled in a public square, and promised that culprits would be shot there.) Salaries of higher government officials were cut 50 per cent, draft dodgers rounded up, and students recalled from overseas. New taxes were slapped on prosperous merchants, and "contributions" were "suggested" from the war-rich.

General Ky's naming was opposed, it is reported, by the Americans in Washington and at hand; and this is another point in his favor, for a puppet cannot be a leader. "The generals," Ky said, and he may not have meant only his South Vietnamese colleagues, "have picked me more to risk my life than as an honor." He added with a cold bravura: "I have told my wife to buy me a coffin." In the next two days, he dotted his i's: breaking off diplomatic relations with France for having undermined the war effort; ordering a Vietcong terrorist shot in front of the sandbags in the square.

Bernard M. Baruch, RIP

Bernard Baruch was a conspicuous member of a special class of human beings that has been present from the beginning of organized political society, and upon which, quite possibly, the existence of organized political society depends: the class, we might call it, of "the good citizen." This was the class that held the Roman Empire together, and kept it functioning, through centuries of revolution, inflation, invasion and general decay. In Rome its typical members were Stoics, and Stoicism, with its stress on duty and its indifference to desire, is perhaps the natural philosophy of the good citizen. Most good citizens are publicly obscure and historically un-noted, except in their local communities where they do their duty toward the tasks that present themselves. They are not the stuff out of which flashing leaders and commanders are formed; but some of them, like Bernard Baruch—like Eugene Black, Lewis Strauss, Herbert Hoover (whose Presidency was an accidental detour in his good citizen's career) who might also be named from our place and time—become famous in the state.

The good citizen is not passionately committed to party, faction or cause, but he is firm in his belief that lawful government is part of the reasoned order of nature. When lawful government is in danger, from domestic or external enemies, he is ready to do his part in defending it. His fields of action are more likely to be economic and institutional, as Baruch's were, than military, because his talents are for order rather than battle and conquest; though he is a disciplined soldier or conscientious officer if that is what duty dictates. In the direction and organization of both great wars of this century, Baruch had a major role, and he played it with the incorruptibility that is a universal mark of the good citizen and a remarkable objectivity, seeking to fulfill the task at hand, never to exploit present troubles for some special interest of his own. In peace he was always ready to answer the summons of the lawful magistrates when they called; and for two generations their calls were frequent.

The good citizen is neither a hero nor a villain; he may judge reform to be necessary, but never revolution. In the Stoic mode, he accepts the existing power realities as given, and does his duty within their structures—despotic states, too, have their good citizens, who are sometimes the despair of the Freedom Fighters. The good citizen, thus, may seem at times to condone evil and injustice, but he does so with his eyes open, and he is not easily fooled. No newspaper obituary mentioned the incident, but there are a few who smile as we recall one time, a few years ago, when the House Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in New York in the midst of one of those Communist-sparked anti-HUAC drives. When the main session opened, there was the tall figure of Bernard Baruch walking serenely through the pickets, to take his place in the front row, where he placed his famous hearing-aid in full view beside him. There he sat listening intently to the testimony, a dignified rebuke to hysteria and disorder.

Notes and Asides

NATIONAL REVIEW's circulation operation is now being handled by an independent company with vast experience in the field. Please note that for subscription purposes, all mail should be addressed to: NATIONAL REVIEW, Box 1601, Des Moines, Iowa 50305: an address which we shall repeat at the bottom of the masthead page from now on. The transition will of course be full of horrors; so please bear with us. The move is calculated to improve our service to you, if we all survive it.

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The Third World War

Bell For the Next Round

JAMES BURNHAM

Who says A, must say B; who says B, must say C, and so it must go to the end of the sequence. But how painful it often is to come right out with those Bs and Cs! How tempting to stay on—to over-stay—with that uttered A!

Burnham

Lyndon Johnson said his A on February 7 when he ordered the first air strikes against North Vietnamese targets. It was very much like the double-A of Harry Truman—April 1, 1948 on Berlin, June 25, 1950 on Korea—or John Kennedy's belated A on Cuba, October 22, 1962. Each meant, simply translated, a message to the Communist enterprise: thus far, but no further. And when the enterprise saw that the two predecessors were serious, that they were going on to the Bs and Cs, it drew back at the gates to Western Europe, ground to a halt in northern Asia, pulled its missiles out of the Caribbean.

The enterprise, held on those fronts, mounted its new thrust on another sector, into Southeast Asia and the South Seas. First it consolidated its advanced positions—in Tibet and North Vietnam—and carried out preparatory disintegration operations beyond its lines. Then it began with probes and terror and skirmishes, building gradually toward full-scale attack. Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy proved unable, in face of this swelling salient, to say even the A: they either did not recognize what was happening, or lacked the will to respond. But Lyndon Johnson, either because it could no longer be unseen or because he is equipped with a different sort of hormone, said his A in February. Now he is gagging over his Bs and Cs.

Perhaps Lyndon Johnson thought that the Vietcong, the advance guard of the enterprise, would dissolve, like the congressional opposition to a White House proposal, after a little arm-twisting and the promise of a carrot or two. A half-dozen minor bombings, a billion dollars for a Mekong Valley Authority, and everyone can sign a polite treaty with UN blessings . . . So it might have been if this were merely one of the enterprise's opportunistic flings through which it was trying to take advantage of an unexpected opening without putting up much of a stake. But the Southeast Asian offensive is quite another sort of affair: a long-prepared strategic offensive with goals of world-historic importance. The enterprise, having made its plans and said *its* A, will continue right through its Bs and Cs unless it meets a superior will and force that threatens it with loss not only of what it seeks but of that with which it began. These token bombings of trucks, highway bridges and empty barracks, these American soldiers restricted to logistic and auxiliary tasks, are no more than a tactical inconvenience.

Into the Whirlpool

Meanwhile the Vietnamese vortex has its own dynamics. Day by day it sucks in American men, ships, planes, weapons, supplies, money. Every week this destroyer, that frigate, this carrier, those battalions and squadrons, are detached from their home stations to make their way westward. Pentagon emissaries rush to NATO capitals to try to buy back propeller-driven planes, forgotten—like the destroyers' guns and lightweight mortars—in the grandiose battle plans of Secretary McNamara's computers. In vast factories, the engineers stand by waiting for the word to start up again the phased-out production lines.

The President, as his empty speech to the UN and his stalemated action indicate, seems stuck in his A. What is he going to do? He can't wait much longer to answer. He states that the war in South Vietnam is in essence not a civil war, but an aggression against the people of South Vietnam directed and supported, in the first instance, by the Communist regime of North Vietnam. This view is correct so far as it goes (though we should have always in mind, as the President does not always seem to, that the aggression from North Vietnam is only part of a global aggression). Now it follows from the President's own analysis that the attack in South Vietnam cannot be stopped unless we force the North Vietnamese regime to stop its guidance and support of the attack. To do this Ho Chi Minh must be convinced that he has more to lose by continuing than by pulling back.

Talking to Ho

Since he is a serious man, Ho will never be thus convinced by token or symbolic military moves, or by mere tactical inconvenience. He will have to be shown the prospect of the loss of the foundations of his regime—its material constructions and political order. This demonstration would seem to require, militarily: a tight air and naval blockade of North Vietnam (it doesn't hurt Ho merely to cut off weapons going to *South* Vietnam); a graduated series of attacks on North Vietnam's economic installations. Today—having reviewed what the U.S. is doing—Ho sees no need to call off his dogs, or even to chat. Why should he change his mind unless he is given good reason to do so?

Immediately after the first February strikes, our wiseacres began wringing their hands and threatening that Chinese troops and Soviet nuclear missiles would soon be on the move. ("We must expect Chinese infantry to enter North Vietnam, perhaps Laos and Thailand, and even the Korean peninsula," wrote prophet Lippmann in his Feb. 12 column.) Nothing of the sort, of course, has happened. Sino-Soviet intervention has been confined to propaganda, diplomacy, subversion, and the prudent shipment of supplies. Nothing in history is certain. But past confrontations seem to bear out the rule: the stronger our action, the weaker the Communist reply.

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Attack on the YRs

Liberals Strike Back At Goldwater Win

M. STANTON EVANS

In 1963, the prevailing mythology of the Left held there never had been and never could be a genuine movement toward conservatism among young people serious about politics. When an avowed backer of Barry Goldwater was elected chairman of the huge Young Republican National Federation, therefore, the event was viewed as an outrage against decency which must have been the result of subterfuge and violence. The Liberal press accordingly portrayed the '63 YR convention in San Francisco as the handiwork of right-wing radicals, extremists, racists, John Birchers, and assorted maniacs who had thwarted the aspirations of the majority.

In 1965, the mythology holds that the only possible course for the Republican Party is to "modernize" itself with all deliberate speed and embrace such saviors of the Republic as George Romney and William Scranton and John Lindsay.

In 1965 as in 1963, however, the junior echelons of the Republican Party have refused to move down the path marked out for them by the helpful pundits of the Liberal media. Assembling in Miami June 14-19, the YRs elected as their chairman for the next two years yet another Goldwater backer, state Senator Tom R. Van Sickle of Kansas, 27, a one-time leader in the national Draft Goldwater committee and a campaign aide to Goldwater in the '64 election, over David Flaherty of N. C.

In addition, the YRs elected by comfortable margins an entire slate of conservative officers, the first time on record conservatives have won every elective office of the federation. The delegates then proposed tax credits in place of federal "aid," endorsed section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, rebuked the United Nations and urged nullification of the 1963 nuclear test-ban treaty.

If anything, the conservatism of the Young GOP was even more notable in 1965 than in 1963. In the logic of Liberalism, therefore, it becomes apparent that still another outrage has been committed.

To make that point, however, the Liberal commentators have to negotiate certain difficulties. While the '63 convention was depicted as a madhouse in which the lunatics had somehow seized control of things, no such representations were possible this time. In contrast to San Francisco the Miami proceedings were orderly to the point of tedium. And the only ascertainable Birch types at the convention—those in the California delegation—were by an odd twist of political alignment backing not Van Sickle but Flaherty. Of what, therefore, did the outrage consist? Quite obviously—since the YRs as a whole had shown themselves to be conservative—it consisted in the very existence of the YRs. It consisted in the fact that such a ludicrous organization should actually be functioning and presuming to elect its own officers, and in the fact that sinister elements in the senior party were "manipulating" this herd of sheep for unspoken and unspeakable purposes. Thus Julius Duscha in the *Washington Post:*

> A young Republican convention is like a marionette show. Pulling the strings are middle-aged Republicans who want to manipulate the Young GOP organization to their own political ends . . . For a relatively small outlay of cash the middle-aged Republicans presumably get control of state Young Republican organizations . . . "This is all a big Mickey Mouse game," said one former chairman of the Young Republicans . . .

Thus James Perry in the *National Observer:*

> Many of these young delegates represent "paper" clubs back home. Others are little more than stooges for much older and sometimes cynical manipulation within the senior party . . . Yet, because they are so noisy and because they can be manipulated, shadowy figures unconnected with the organization fought to win control here last week . . .

Thus a hitherto-uncelebrated journalist named Bruce K. Chapman in the *New York Herald-Tribune:*

> A typical Young Republican leader today is a professional amateur whose strength is that he cares about nothing so much as the low-level intra-party politics of the YRs. Unable to break into senior party politics because of incompetence, he is often past 40 before he surrenders his "young GOP membership card . . . The major activity of the national YRs is to scheme and skirmish over its [sic] own next convention to the exclusion of almost any other business . . .

These three reports are suggestive of the sort of "coverage" accorded conservatism these days in much of the nation's press. More to the present point, however, is the fact that the animosity is channeled into derogation, not merely of conservatives, but of the entire Young Republican organization.

For the Young Republicans are, of course, neither puppets nor insignificant adolescents. They are a nationwide group of more than 500,000 members, out of which the future leadership of the Republican Party will eventually emerge. In recognition of this fact GOP Liberals have expended many years of effort in trying to get control of them. Now, by washing their hands of the whole business, the Liberals are in effect admitting this long campaign has failed; that the Young Republicans of America will not accept the catchwords and slogans of metooism; and that if John Lindsay is riding a "new wave" of youthful enthusiasm, his fellow surfers will not come from the ranks of the Young Republicans. The Liberals are conceding, in sum, that their enemy is not a fringe element, not "kooks" or nuts or extremists, but *the entire Young Republican movement.*

Consider the lament of *Herald-Trib* contributor Bruce Chapman, whose credentials as an impartial observer include a previous stint as national president of Students for Rockefeller and as publisher of the Rockefeller-financed Liberal GOP

(Continued on p. 589)

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STATEMENT BY WM. F. BUCKLEY JR., ANNOUNCING HIS CANDIDACY FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK, June 24, 1965

I propose to run for Mayor of New York.

I am a Republican. And I intend, for so long as I find it possible to do so—which is into the visible future—to remain a Republican. I seek the honorable designation of the Conservative Party, because the Republican designation is not, in New York, available nowadays to anyone in the mainstream of Republican opinion. As witness the behavior of the Republican Party's candidate, Mr. John Lindsay, who, having got hold of the Republican Party, now disdains the association; and spends his days, instead, stressing his acceptability to the leftwardmost party in New York, the Liberal Party. A year ago, Mr. Lindsay declined to support the choice of the national Republican Party—and of 27 million Republican voters—for President. Mr. Lindsay's Republican Party is a rump affair, captive in his and others' hands, no more representative of the body of Republican thought than the Democratic Party in Mississippi is representative of the Democratic Party nationally.

The two-party system presupposes an adversary relationship between the two parties. That there is no such relationship in New York Mr. Lindsay makes especially clear when he proposes as running mates members of the Liberal and the Democratic Parties. Mr. Lindsay's Republican Party is a sort of personal accessory, unbound to the national party's candidates, unconcerned with the views of the Republican leadership in Congress, indifferent to the historic role of the Republican Party as standing in opposition to those trends of our time that are championed by the collectivist elements of the Democratic Party. Mr. Lindsay, described by the *New York Times* as being "as Liberal as a man can be," qualifies for the support of the Liberal Party and of the Republican Party only if one supposes that there are no substantial differences between the Republican Party and the Liberal Party. That there should be is my contention. Yet it is as foolish for a Republican who stands in opposition to those trends of our time to enter a Republican primary in New York City as it would be for Hubert Humphrey to enter a Democratic primary in Mississippi. If Mr. Lindsay is opposed to third parties, perhaps he will take the opportunity to invite the Liberal Party to dissolve.

Accordingly, as I say, I have declared my availability to the Conservative Party, thinking to give the people of New York an opportunity to vote for a candidate who consults without embarrassment, and who is proud to be guided by them, the root premises of the Republican philosophy of government, the conservative philosophy of government.

I shall accept the designation if it is offered to me because I continue to respect the principles of the Republican Party as they are generally understood out over the country. But also because it has struck me as painfully clear, to judge from their public statements, that the major candidates, while agreeing that New York City is in crisis, are resolutely opposed to discussing the reasons why it is in crisis. Their failure to do so—I speak of Mr. Lindsay, and of Mr. Wagner, and of those who compete to succeed Mr. Wagner as the Democratic candidate—is symptomatic of a political disease that rages in New York, and threatens to contaminate democratic government everywhere in the United States. It consists in its most aggravated form, in an almost otherworldly detachment from the real situation: in running for political office by concealing any significant mention of any of the significant public issues of the day. To run for office under such circumstances is merely a form of personal vanity. Yet the major candidates are correct in saying that New York is in crisis. New York cries for the kind of attention that is not being given to it by those who coolly contrive their campaigns so as to avoid offending the major voting blocs. But to satisfy major voting blocks in their collective capacities is not necessarily to satisfy the individual members of those voting blocks in their separate capacities.

Mr. Wagner is a humane and honest man. But few will deny that after twelve years of his attentions, New York boils with frustration, injustice, and demoralization. The reason being that government designed to placate voting blocs, precisely does so at the expense of individuals. It hardly satisfies the labor union member who is granted special privileges, special immunities, that permit him special advantages, to live in a city where his wife and daughter are not safe because special privileges, special immunities, are granted in turn to another voting bloc. It hardly benefits a man who can earn an average of $15 an hour wiring a new apartment building, to find that he cannot rent an apartment in that building except by paying a rent that reflects the crushing cost of paying $15 an hour to electricians.

The passion of the last generation has been to refer our problems to extra-local government agencies, most particularly the Federal Government. So far has this gone that it has now become impossible to effect true reform in any major city without getting relief from some of the nation's oppressive laws. Two years ago the central nervous system of New York was paralyzed when the newspapers closed down for three months. They closed down as a direct result of the willfulness of a few hundred men using the leverage handed them by a cluster of federal laws. What power did the Mayor of New York, or the beleaguered publishers, have to come to the aid of the public—in the wake of a generation's legislation granting special immunities to the labor unions who are free to conspire together in restraint of trade?

What power does the Mayor of New York have to reverse the crime rate in New York City? More powers, to be sure, than the incumbent has exercised, or than the challenger Mr. Lindsay proposes to exercise. But not enough power, given the series of recent Supreme Court decisions in which the rights of the alleged transgressor are regularly preferred over the rights of the established victim.

What recourse, under the existing

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prohibitions, has the Mayor or the City's educational agencies, to promote a respect for religion in the public schools, the Supreme Court of the United States having ruled against even such prayers as are satisfactory to the spokesmen of the three major faiths practiced in New York City?

The Mayor of New York has, of course, considerable power still left to him, by the courageous exercise of which he could improve conditions in the City. But increasingly the government of New York becomes the vassal of the government at Washington. This trend toward subjugation is not opposed by the major candidates for the Mayor's office. On the contrary, Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Wagner are almost always to be found egging the government at Washington on in its extravagances. And then—necessarily—approaching the government at Washington as supplicants, begging it to return to the City some of the income it has taken from it. Thus Mr. Lindsay, a week ago, actually suggested as a solution to the problem of rising costs in the subway system that it be subsidized from revenues taken from bridges whose construction cost (he pointed out) is furnished 90 per cent by the Federal Government—with money (he did not point out) taken in the first instance from New York subway riders—whose payments to the Federal Government, direct and indirect, vastly exceed disbursements by the Federal Government, in New York City. Against such economic circumlocutions as these, and the attendant mockery of self-government, someone, somewhere, ought to speak out. I propose to do so.

In due course, I shall publicize suggested approaches to some of the major problems that face New York. They will be the result of diligent and, I hope, fruitful study, conducted in consultation with distinguished and experienced scholars and public-minded citizens whose collaboration I shall in due course gratefully acknowledge. The recommendations will be guided by the principles of a free and compassionate society, respectful of the rights of the individual, of the limitations of government and of the needs of community.

At this moment, I am prepared only to suggest the approaches I will propose to the citizens of New York.

As regards the crime rate, we place no single objective ahead of the necessity to control it. We need, at least until such a moment as the crime rate its reversed, a much larger police force, enjoined to lust after the apprehension of criminals even as politicians lust after the acquisition of votes. Under no circumstance must the police be encumbered by such

political irons as civilian review boards—or by any other contraption whose presumptive concern is for advantageous political relationships, rather than for law and order in our streets. The protection of the individual against the criminal is the first and highest function of government. The failure of government to provide protection is nothing less than the failure of government. The City of New York should investigate the feasibility of providing some kind of indemnity of victims of certain kinds of crime.

The ill-feeling that exists between the races in New York is due in part to a legacy of discrimination and injustice committed by the dominant ethnic groups. The white people owe a debt to the Negro people against whom we have discriminated for generations. That debt we rightly struggle to discharge in various ways, some of them wiser than others, and we should continue to seek out ways to advance the Negro, and other victims of oppression explicit and implicit, by sounder means than undifferentiated infusions of politically deployed cash.

To do this is not enough. We cannot help the Negro by adjourning our standards as to what is, and what is not, the proper behavior for human beings. Family irresponsibility; lawlessness; juvenile delinquency—whatever subtle explanations there may be for the pressures that conduce to them—are nonetheless deplorable, and a matter of urgent social concern. In New York, the principal enemies of the Negro people are those demagogues of their own race before whom our politicians grovel. In 1961 a testimonial dinner was held under the auspices of the freshly installed Democratic Administration for Adam Clayton Powell Jr.; presided over by the chief of protocol of President Kennedy's government, attended by no less than two Cabinet members. Those leaders of the Negro people who cherish resentments, who refuse to deplore misconduct among their own people, who feed on the demoralization of the Negro race, ought to be publicly and explicitly disavowed by the political leaders of the City. It is the ultimate act of condescension to suppose that merely because a man is a Negro, one may not denounce him; that because he is a Negro, it is hardly surprising that he is a poor husband, or an absent father, or a delinquent child. Mr. James Baldwin has said that the Negroes in Harlem who throw garbage out on the streets do so as a form of social protest. It is a much higher form of social protest to denounce such reasoning and the men who make it.

There is turmoil in the City's schools for reasons largely political. The figures, projected forward suggest a flight from the public schools that may reach the dramatic proportions of the flight in Washington, D. C. The reasons for the flight are not by any means traceable alone to irrational prejudice. Either schools are places where education is the primary consideration, or they are places

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where the social policies of politicians are the primary consideration. By all means the neighborhood school should be encouraged; the administration of the school decentralized; the uncooperative student sequestered. Special financial inducements should be given to first-rate teachers to persuade them to take on the rigors of teaching undisciplined and uncooperative students. The dilution of education in the interest of a synthetic integration will merely accelerate the flight from the public schools, and leave them without the students who can provide the healthy leadership young people so greatly need from their own companions.

The entrenched labor unions have a hold on the City whose anti-social potential has been demonstrated on such occasions as the newspaper strike, and the more recent paralysis of the Port of New York. Remedial legislation is greatly needed. Meanwhile, the police must be instructed to guarantee the safe passage of anyone who crosses a picket line in order to earn money to feed his family and to satisfy a social need. The minimum wage laws should be abolished, most urgently in their coverage of minors who, denied the work, denied the training, denied the apprenticeships they might enjoy, swell the ranks of the unemployed, and the registers of the police stations. It is inhuman and irrational to endorse an increase in the minimum wage, as the other candidates have done, at a moment when there is unemployment and boredom and waste.

Five hundred thousand New Yorkers receive welfare payments. Those of them who do and are able-bodied, and who are not needed at home to care for the children, should report for duty, in our parks, in our streets, in our development projects, pending their absorption in the labor market. A year's residence requirement should be instituted to discourage the thoughtless flow of men and women into New York, whose incapacity to absorb them heightens their own frustration, adds to the general demoralization, and continues to add to the high overhead of life for which New York is becoming increasingly infamous.

The beauty and vigor of New York are its principal assets, and are a public trust. The vigor drains away, economically, as the tax rate soars; spiritually, as we live cheek by jowl with problems which we are precluded from solving because of a failure of political nerve. The beauty of New York is threatened by the schematic designs upon it of the social abstractionists who do not look up from their drawing boards for long enough to recognize what it is that makes for human attachments—to little buildings and shops, to areas of repose and excitement: to all those abstractions that so greatly inconvenience the big-think social planners. The obsession with urban renewal must, in due course, be tranquilized, before the City loses its hold on human sentiment.

I intend to do what I can, consistent with minimal resources, to bring these matters up. Hopefully, I will succeed in introducing the other candidates to the New York that seethes with frustration while the politicians conduct their quadrennial charade.

I shall, as I say, in due course elaborate on these observations, and make others relevant to the needs at hand.

I assume that there are many New Yorkers who take seriously the cliché that New York is in crisis, and who are serious enough to recognize that not a blessed reform of any consequence has been proposed by the major candidates. I appeal to them to help themselves and their fellow New Yorkers by voting the Conservative ticket in November.

EXCERPTS FROM THE QUESTION PERIOD.

FRANK LYNN (New York World Telegram and Sun): *Have you discussed your candidacy with Senator Goldwater, or do you intend to ask him to campaign for you?*

MR. BUCKLEY: *I do not. I called up Senator Goldwater as a matter of courtesy since we are friends of long standing, not to consult him about running but to inform him that I intended to do so.*

MR. LYNN: *But you do not intend to ask him to campaign for you?*

MR. BUCKLEY: *No I don't. I would be delighted if he would, but I don't intend to ask him. If he wants to do it, it will suggest itself to him.*

JUDY MICHAELSON (New York Post): *How long have you lived in New York?*

MR. BUCKLEY: *I have lived in New York longer than Bobby Kennedy did when he decided to run.*

ALICE WIDENER (Syndicated Columnist): *It is said that Mr. Lindsay promised the Liberal Party more than 30 per cent of his appointments if he got their endorsement. Have you made any commitments in percentages about appointments?*

MR. BUCKLEY: *Not to the Liberal Party. No, I made no commitments on it at all.*

PAUL PARKER: (WINS): *Bill, are you in this campaign to win it or are you in the campaign to, judging from your statement here, perhaps pick away at what you regard as Lindsay's fraud on the party and—*

MR. BUCKLEY: *No. I am in the campaign to get as many votes as I can get, consistent with maintaining the excellence of my position, so the decision, of course, is up to the people, not to me. I will not adapt my views in order to increase my vote by ten people, as you have just seen.*

ANOTHER SPEAKER: *Do you want to be Mayor, sir?*

MR. BUCKLEY: *I have never considered it.*

BARRY FARBER (WOR): *But you are asking people to vote for you. If you win, will you serve?*

MR. BUCKLEY: *Yes, I will.*

BOB POTTS (WNDT-TV): *Did you say something about what kind of campaign you will run? Will you go out and campaign in the streets?*

MR. BUCKLEY: *No, I will not, primarily because I don't have time. I will spend what time I do have on trying to develop as carefully and responsibly as I can those positions that I want to project and will project them wherever the opportunity lies—project them most effectively.*

ANOTHER SPEAKER: *Will you make any concrete proposals which would be designed to prevent newspaper tie-ups in the future?*

MR. BUCKLEY: *Yes. A representative of the largest city in the country has got to lobby for the best interests of that city in Washington. In due course, again in another paper, in another talk, I will elaborate exactly what ought to be done in Washington. It needs to be a massive reform of the National Labor Relations Act and one provision of the Clayton Act and a provision of the Norris-La Guardia Act.*

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MISS MICHAELSON: *Do you think you have any chance of winning?*

MR. BUCKLEY: *No.*

BARRY FARBER (WOR): *Will you fight to keep the* New York Post *published?*

MR. BUCKLEY: *I faced that conflict of interest in the column I wrote yesterday. I came out, for my sins, for Mrs. Schiff—not that it couldn't have happened to a more deserving lady.*

(REPORTER FROM TIME MAGAZINE): *How many votes would you consider a satisfactory showing?*

MR. BUCKLEY: *The first time the Conservative Party ran they got 50,000 votes. Last year, in the senatorial race, they got 122,000 votes—for Mr. Paolucci. That is the suggested range, citywide.*

UNIDENTIFIED REPORTER: *What vote do you expect to get, conservatively speaking?*

MR. BUCKLEY: *Conservatively speaking, one.*

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Young Republicans

(Continued from p. 584)

magazine *Advance* (now significantly defunct):

> . . . most delegates to YR conventions are not only conservative but bitterly exclusionist . . . The professional amateurs are among the chief depositors in the account of "True Conservatism" . . . It is useless for the moderates in the Young GOP to try to persuade such people; nor, as yesterday's election results suggest, are they likely to succeed in efforts to fool them by running "practical" conservative candidates for YR national chairman . . .

As a remedy for this deplorable state of affairs, Chapman tentatively suggests that "moderates" (*i.e.*, Rockefeller Liberals) drop the pretense of being somewhat conservative themselves and come out fighting as unabashed "progressives."

Chapman wisely does not linger over this idea, but transubstantiates to what he obviously considers a more hopeful one — to abolish YR elections altogether, and to put the whole shebang squarely under the appointive thumb of the senior party chairman. ". . . if [Ray Bliss] really wants to reform the Young Republican National Federation," Chapman says, "and is unwilling to accept the political ramifications of backing the moderates within it, his only solution is to bring about the abolition of the YRs fratricidal national conventions altogether and himself appoint the YR chairman"—a suggestion which has the ring of sincerity one would expect from an SMU alumnus proposing the next game with Notre Dame be adjudicated in the offices of Paul Blanshard rather than on the playing field.

Newly elected chairman Van Sickle, in a letter to the *Herald-Trib*, put Chapman's proposal in proper perspective. "There is no conceivable motive for this proposal," Van Sickle says, "except for the fact that Mr. Chapman apparently believes his own views cannot be made to prevail by any other method. . . . Unable to win by free choice, he proposes to abolish that choice. Unable to persuade YRs to accept his brand of philosophy, he would like to see that philosophy imposed from the top. . . . Changing the rules of the game from choice to decree because one can't win otherwise is a course all fair-minded Americans, whatever the party, will recognize as a subterfuge."

When the smog of Liberal misrepresentations about the YRs is cleared away, certain essential—and highly important—facts emerge. The charge that senior party elements "manipulate" the YRs in anything like the fashion suggested by Duscha and Perry is flatly untrue. As to senior party concern over the intervention in the proceedings of the Young Republicans, that is indeed true, and has been true for years. To a certain extent, senior Republicans have viewed the Young GOP as a barometer of party sentiment, and have assisted their young allies in an effort to elicit a favorable reading.

It is incredible, however, that protest on this score should arise from Liberal quarters—since it has been the Liberals who have set the pace in senior party YR meddling. At the Miami convention, easily the most prominent senior Republican enmeshing himself in the business of the Young GOP was Liberal Republican Governor John Chafee of Rhode Island who spent long hours (without success) trying to get the six R. I. delegates to vote for Flaherty.

The charge that the YRs are paunchy incompetents engaged in child's play also comes oddly from Liberal typewriters. The so-called moderates' candidate at the convention, Flaherty, is 35; Van Sickle is eight years younger. Flaherty has never been elected to public office. Van Sickle, at 21, was elected to the Kansas House of Representatives, and at 23 to the Kansas state Senate.

The "do-nothing" aspect of the charge is equally mistaken. As chairman Van Sickle points out: ". . . the YRs have grown dramatically in recent years, at present claiming more than half-a-million members—incomparably the largest single youth organization in America."

Finally, the insinuation that YR conservatism is explainable in terms of senior-party manipulation is transparently false. The Young GOP became inclined toward conservatism long before it became fashionable in the party as a whole—a fact which anyone who wants to peruse Young Republican platforms as far back as 1957 can easily ascertain for himself. This process has not yet reached its completion. The ratio of conservative to Liberal delegates at most YR conventions is roughly five-to-one, whereas the organizational balance is something closer to three-to-two. If the conservatives continue to overtake the Liberal headstart in matters of finance and concentrated voting strength in the big Northern states, the YRs could hereafter move even more decisively in the conservative direction.

In short, there is really nothing mysterious about what is happening in the Young Republicans. No one is astounded to discover that the head of the AFL-CIO is a trade unionist, that the governor of Wisconsin prefers butter to oleo, or that the head of the Young Democrats is a Liberal. Why should it be cause for wonderment that the head of the Young Republicans should be conservative?

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The New Estate

The Professors and The "Teach-Ins"

WILL HERBERG

There is no need to take the recent rash of university "teach-ins" on American policy in Vietnam too seriously. With very few exceptions, the protesting professors were not particularly distinguished either by the scope of their knowledge or by the cogency of their arguments. Nor have these professors had anywhere near the following attributed to them by the press, foreign and domestic. In no case did they enjoy the support of a majority of the faculties involved; mostly it was no more than a small minority of teachers and students that made all the noise. Even the confusion they created was not particularly impressive—probably because Washington had already managed to confuse the facts and issues so thoroughly that even the most confused professor could not improve it.

Herberg

Under the present circumstances, there would be little gained, and perhaps something lost, in pretending that arguing with the professors on Vietnam could conceivably amount to a rational discussion.

There is, however, something about the university "teach-ins" that has been overlooked, yet seems to me to deserve serious consideration. In these "protest" activities, for the first time I can think of in our history, the professoriat—or, rather, small cliques speaking for the professoriat—came forward not simply as undivided citizens, not simply as professional groups, but as a substantially new Estate of the Realm, with a legitimate claim to be consulted on government policy and a special right to help determine it. Not as scholars in relevant fields, but as professors, simply as professors. By virtue of being professors—professors of biology, assistant professors of English, instructors in Romance Languages—they claimed the right to challenge the government to public debate on whatever issues they pleased. No one would maintain that plumbers, just by virtue of being plumbers, had any such right, or physicians, lawyers, engineers, merchants, bankers, or labor leaders, except perhaps where the issue touched on their special field of interest and competence. But professors—some of them seem to think—are different. They felt that they are entitled to demand that the Administration justify its policies before them in particular, and engage with them in formal debate: the Administration *versus* the Professors! A new estate has apparently emerged in our body politic—the Professoriat!

Professors as Philosophes?

The fact of the matter is that a sizable group of our professors do not like to think of themselves simply as scholars and teachers in their various fields. They yearn to be recognized as *philosophes* in the eighteenth-century sense that is, as self-appointed journalistic publicity-makers, free-wheeling policy-makers responsible to no one and to nothing, except their own good opinion of themselves. This is not only to mistake their vocation, and to betray their academic responsibility; it is also to befuddle the minds of the students, not just on this or that issue, but on what a university is, or ought to be like. "If they want to be preachers"—I am adapting the late Justice Frankfurter's advice to judges—"let them dedicate themselves to the pulpit. If they want to be primary shapers of policy, the Legislature is their place . . . " The truth is that some of our professors, in their presumption, would like to be all of these things, without a thought as to competence, authority or responsibility.

There is another reason why it is so disturbing to see professors make such pretensions. It is that they are peculiarly unfitted to play such a role: they have generally been so notoriously wrong in their judgment of public affairs, especially foreign affairs. "It does not become intellectuals," Reinhold Niebuhr pointed out with some exasperation a decade ago, "to speak so contemptuously of the practise of statesmanship, particularly since their own record since the eighteenth century has been so dismal. It has consisted in dreaming up utopias, both harmless and dangerous . . . But vain dreams are never harmless if they prompt us to evade duties, or if they induce attitudes of contempt for people who do not spare their illusions. Considering the vanity of these schemes dreamed up by the intellectuals, one is almost persuaded to thank God for the wisdom of the traditional 'man in the street.' I would substitute the taxi-driver for the man in the street. For the taxi-driver is superior to the ordinary intellectual in dealing with the complexities of politics, including international politics, because a shrewd awareness of human foibles prevents him from engaging in vain dreams or in self-pity" ("A Century of Cold War," *New Leader*, August 2, 1954).*

What our "teach-ins" professors would like, apparently, is to have this proclivity on "vain dreams" and "self-pity" become *institutionalized* by getting themselves recognized as an Estate of the Realm, entitled, in their corporate capacity (the Professoriat), to be consulted by the government for its advice and consent in major policy decisions. There is, perhaps, no section of the American people that could make such a claim with worse credentials.

*Nearly six hundred years before, the celebrated Muslim thinker, Ibn Khaldun, had made the same point in his classic work, *Prolegomena*. "Scholars," he noted, are of all men least fitted for politics and its ways. The reasons for this is that they are accustomed to intellectual speculation, the search for concepts, and their abstraction and clarification in the mind. These operations aim to attaining the universal aspect of things, not those particular to their material content and peculiarity . . . Their judgments and views remain purely speculative . . . Moreover, they do not, in general, seek to make their thoughts conform to external reality, but rather deduce what ought to be outside from what goes on in their minds . . . The ordinary sound man, however, whose mind is not given to such speculation, . . . judges events, and men, and things on their merits and according to the realities of the case . . ." (Vol. III, p. 268, Quatremere, ed.; see Charles Issawi, ed., *An Arab Philosophy of History*, London, 1950, pp. 64-66).

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What Hope for Latin America?

Mr. Stokes has come forward with a revolutionary thesis: Latin American countries, he suggests, will do better if they fire their planners and try free enterprise

WILLIAM S. STOKES

Although some students of Latin American affairs will not always defend to the death the statistical compendia and projections of national and international officialdom, they seem to be unanimous in believing that the population is increasing rapidly in both urban and rural areas virtually everywhere in Latin America. Fecundity and reduction in the incidence of infant mortality and eradication or control of such diseases as yellow fever, encephalitis, and malaria may help to explain a rate of population increase over-all of about 3 per cent per year. If present trends continue (which no one can guarantee), the Latin American countries could expect over 600 million people by the end of this century. Many are expected, and all will be enlisted in the "revolution of rising expectations."

Population Explosion Exploited

The "population explosion" raises the specter of infants without food, malnutrition and disease among the lower classes, inadequacy of educational and other services prerequisite to vertical mobility, mass misery, and little fulfillment of the aspirations of the "revolution of rising expectations." Modern-day collectivists and state interventionists perceive the "population explosion" as a persuasive rationalization for their advocacy of the expanded and benevolent but coercive state. The literature is replete with appeals to look to government to solve the problem of population increases "before it is too late." The planners urge governments to institute chemical, surgical, and other systems of birth control, redistribute the wealth and income of rich nations for the benefit of the poor, establish public international cartels (international commodity agreements and the like) to guarantee "just prices" for the foods, fibers, minerals and raw materials of the "disadvantaged" states of the world, provide foreign economic aid and technical assistance to further the transition from agriculture in the "traditional society" to industry in the "modern society." Official planners of national and international governments and their supporters in the academy and in the media of communication have submitted many specific proposals: Governments should provide free, low-cost, or subsidized housing for the poor, expropriate land from the affluent and give it to the more deserving, develop and implement urban renewal programs (with "green spaces"), engage in desalinization projects (nuclear power if needed) to make deserts bloom, reclaim eroded or discarded acreage, fertilize exhausted soils, drain swamps and denude jungles of undesirable growths, produce edible micro-organisms from selected hydro-carbons, harvest plankton and algae from the sea, distribute free fishcake to all those with inappropriate protein intake, provide milk and "hot lunches" to school children, fill mouths with free mineral and vitamin pills, put into effect comprehensive welfare programs, etc.

Almost all the proposals for governmental action to meet the alleged dangers of the "population explosion" involve expansion of the functions of the state with the attendant consequences of larger bureaucracies, greater expenditures, and loss of individual liberty and freedom. Political leaders dedicated to vast spending programs are often disconcerted by anemic exchequers. They are naturally amenable to gifts, grants, and loans (preferably concealed grants masquerading as loans) from benevolent states and international organizations. Even with such aid, they may find that their passion to spend exceeds the taxpayers' capacity to pay. Educated to disregard the "fiscal myths" of reactionary or orthodox economics, they print additional paper money to pay their bills ("A little inflation is a good thing") and embark upon policies designed to redistribute the wealth and income of their more successful citizens. Since inflation is a tax which strikes at the prudent, and policies of redistribution are not always pleasant to those whose wealth is being appropriated by the state without their consent, many Latin Americans have removed their capital to other nations for investment or safekeeping. Within their own countries they have often held in abeyance plans for expansion, and in some cases they have reduced or even halted production of goods and services. Instead of acquiring more money to spend on programs to benefit the poor, political leaders may find that they actually have less.

Some argue that history, tradition, and culture dictate centralized, governmentally-directed economic systems for countries of Hispanic culture. The Iberian countries discovered and colonized the Latin American area through centralized government, a stratified, rigidified class system, and an economic organization essentially mercantilistic. In Latin America social institutions, such as the class system, family, education, and the Church, have all, in varying degree, exposed the individual to the conditioning impact of authoritarianism. Although the Latin American founding fathers were aware of the principles of classical liberalism, such principles were never permitted to operate as freely as in Great Britain or the United States.

El Estado Intervencionista

The idea that centralized control by the government over the property and resources of a nation will accomplish

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the ends of rapid industrialization, modernization of agriculture, and the achievement of welfare is found in most modern-day constitutions. Some of the words and phrases that have a positive connotation among governing groups and intellectuals in almost all parts of Latin America are: *fomento* or *fomentar* (government as the initiator and director of the allocation of resources and distribution of goods and services); *planificación* or *economía planificada* (planning, planned economy); *dirigismo* ("directionism"); *intervencionismo* (interventionism); and *el estado intervencionista* (the interventionist state).

The great ideological and political movements in Latin America in recent decades have all been collectivist in varying degree in the economic aspects of their philosophy and program —the Mexican Revolution, the Cuban Revolution (under the *auténticos* mainly, from 1933 to 1952); the Castro Revolution in Cuba (1959 to the present); the Guatemalan Revolution (1944-1954); the *"Revolución .Nacional"* under the MNR in Boliva (especially from 1952 to the overthrow of Paz Estenssoro in 1964); *justicialismo* in Argentina; the *estado novo* in Brazil; *aprismo* in Peru (until recently); *Acción Democrática* in Venezuela; *Liberación Nacional* in Costa Rica, etc. The *pensadores*— poets, novelists, essayists, artists, intellectuals, professional people, especially those who describe themselves as economists— have evidenced antagonism toward private initiative and enterprise and sympathy toward state interventionism or collectivism.

Capitalism is Revolutionary

Capitalism, with its principles of the private ownership of both producers' and consumers' goods, private initiative and enterprise, supply and demand, and profit motivation, is the most revolutionary economic system Western civilization has ever known. Capitalism offers a maximum degree of equality of economic opportunity and provides tremendous incentive to produce so that high material standards of living can be enjoyed by all social classes. Individual dignity is enhanced by the fact that individuals directly determine through day-to-day choices in the market what will be produced and distributed and at what price. In contrast to planned economic systems, capitalism will do what people want it to do. However, capitalism does require hard work, saving, and investment by a large part of the population. Many Latin American political leaders have believed that collectivism and state interventionism provide the formula for accomplishing difficult tasks easily and quickly. Americans, who are called upon the subsidize social, economic, and political change in Latin America through the Alliance for Progress, and Latin Americans, whose present and future position in the world will be determined in large part by governmental policy, might well consider what has been the record of state interventionism in Latin America.

Permit me to examine one specific illustration, partly because I have looked into it over the years and partly because Latin American and United States Liberals have expressed such enthusiasm for its principles and such confidence in its outcome. I refer to the program, policies, and government of the National Revolutionary Movement of Bolivia. In a letter to President Victor Paz Estenssoro (released May 14, 1961 in the United States and May 17 in La Paz, Bolivia), President Kennedy declared that the United States was now ready to assist Bolivia in a long-range economic program to achieve higher standards of living, economic progress, and social justice. President Kennedy promised loans and grants for the state tin and oil enterprises, roads, surplus agricultural products, an airport and a sugar mill, with other projects, such as low-cost worker and *campesino* housing to be undertaken as soon as the planning and programming could be completed.

In the last paragraph of the now-famous letter, President Kennedy said: "This great revolution has blazed a path for others to follow." The headlines published in the official newspaper of Bolivia read: "Kennedy eulogizes the National Revolution."

Bolivia received from the United States in Mutual Security and Economic Program aid a total of $191,-200,000 from July 1, 1945 through June 30, 1960, plus $500,000 in military aid. President Kennedy and his advisers determined that the MNR should receive even more economic aid (which it has over the years, probably the highest per capita aid in the world). His advisers apparently persuaded him that the *Revolución Nacional* should constitute a model for other Latin American countries to follow. In November, 1961, President Kennedy's special representative to Bolivia, Dr. Rowland Egger, addressed President Estenssoro, the vice president, ministers of the government, and others. In this address he used the words "democracy" and "democratic" several times in connection with the MNR. He ended his speech with the statement: "Bolivia is destined to a social and economic future of incomparable brilliance."

Government by Terror

The MNR, in association with a military lodge called RADEPA (*Razon de Patria*), first seized power by force on December 20, 1943. The civilian-military oligarchy proceeded to govern by terror. The assassinations, tortures, and official thievery became so universally known that Sumner Welles said that the government had "turned Bolivia into an immense concentration camp." The dictatorship was ousted in July, 1946, but most of the leaders escaped, initiated widespread violence in 1949, and returned to power by force in April, 1952. The original ideology of the MNR was basically Marxist, although for tactical reasons the first step taken was a "national revolution" rather than a "class revolution." The leftist nature of the ideology of the MNR in recent times can be seen in the *programa de Gobierno* for 1960-64 and the book by Guillermo Lora, *La Revolución Boliviana* (1963).

The government established by President Victor Paz Estenssoro in 1952 could not by any stretch of the imagination be described as democratic. The MNR arrested its enemies, forced thousands of Bolivians into exile, created a secret police, put thousands of the opposition in jails and concentration camps, established proletarian armed militias, rigged elections, intimidated newsmen and permitted Communist influence in the cabinet, legislature, court system, police, unions, and educational institutions.

By 1959 the MNR had nationalized 70 per cent of the means of produc-

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tion (according to the then President of COMIBOL, the state tin entity). Socialism in Bolivia has proved to be an inefficient, deficit-ridden system. Instead of concentrating agrarian reform on the millions of acres of national lands, the MNR enacted a decree-law on August 2, 1953, which provided for expropriation of lands which were already in use. When the cities faced famine, the United States supplied food under Public Law 480. However, about one-third of this food was smuggled out of the country, and much of the rest went into black markets. The administration of the program was characterized by dishonesty, ignorance, and negligence. Since the average-size holding in the agrarian reform was 3.51 hectares (8.66 acres), there was little hope for prosperity for the masses of rural peoples as a result of this part of the program.

The MNR seized the three great tin interests—those of Patino, Aramayo, and Hochschild—on October 31, 1952. The revolutionary leaders thought they would make a great killing. One of their supporters wrote that the nationalized mines would make enough money to pay for the agrarian reform, electrification of the country, the colonization program, the construction of light and heavy industry, petroleum development, the building of schools, hospitals, and the like on a "great scale," and the development of water, air, and land transportation and communication. However, the socialized tin mines proved to be an immediate and disastrous failure. The official figures of COMIBOL show a 59 per cent decline in production of the nationalized mines from 1952 to 1960, and the reports through 1964 demonstrate a further decline in production. Since the costs of production mounted steadily, the state incurred vast deficits. The latest official report of COMIBOL (dated March 17, 1965) revealed that COMIBOL had a minimum of 7,000 superfluous employees on the payroll ("elementary social justice"), that every COMIBOL unit lost money in 1964, and that it was costing up to $2.30 a pound to produce tin in some mines (*El Diario*, La Paz, March 18, 1965). Rene Barrientos and pro-United States forces ousted Paz Estenssoro on November 4, 1964, and the new government is finding it difficult to correct past errors.

Rómulo Betancourt, former President of Venezuela, told a university audience on March 29, 1965 that 38 million additional jobs will be needed in Latin America by 1975 whereas the present outlook is for only five million, thus adding 33 million more Latin Americans to the ranks of the unemployed. Whether these projections merit serious consideration or not, the question is whether the needs of the expanding populations can be satisfied by programs of state interventionism, expropriation, and government-owned and operated enterprises. Evidence suggests such programs have been disappointing in the past and are likely to act as a drag on development in the future.

It is an error to assume that if the influence of the "oligarchy" in Latin America can be removed, improvement for the masses will be a consequence. In a broad sense, the oligarchy is made up of the talented, cultured, traveled, educated individuals in society who organize and direct the economic, social, cultural, and political institutions of the countries. More such people are needed, not fewer. In a country in which the supply of entrepreneurs, inventors, agronomists, businessmen, doctors, lawyers, and teachers is limited, the loss of a single trained, qualified person is a tragedy. No country produces more than a small percentage of individuals of outstanding achievement, and it takes years to train people of superior potentiality. Even with incentives, it is difficult to attract talent from other countries. Although the production of goods and services depends upon combining physical resources and capital, it is the infinitely precious human element which makes the process possible. It is, of course, a fact that individuals in all countries differ widely as to physical, mental, and psychological characteristics. It is probable that no one knows or can measure in advance the creative potentialities of human beings. The best ways to discover who can succeed is to permit all to try, each in accordance with his own inclinations and ideals as long as his actions do not deny the natural rights of others. Since miscegenation, miscibility, and a humane relationship among the classes are principles which have long

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characterized Hispanic culture, it is possible that a dynamic economic system will permit the colored lower classes to rise more rapidly in the continuum than has been the case in the past in Latin America.

Except for a small number of selected areas, Latin America does not suffer from population pressure on land and resources. In all probability not more than 5 per cent of the total land area is now being utilized for agriculture; the exploitation of forest products, and the oceans, lakes and rivers are far from overused. The difficulty is that although the populations of the United States and Latin America are roughly the same, the United States produces at least six times as much. Thus, the heart of the problem of population is the increased production of goods and services.

Those with power, dignity, and influence in the community do themselves and the lower classes harm when they embark upon policies of state interventionism, redistribution, welfarism for which they cannot pay, and expropriations and nationalizations. Almost without exception, such policies are uneconomic and result in discouraging local and foreign talent from providing the productive facilities which alone can result in rapid improvement in the lot of the lower classes. For the United States to extend great economic aid to governments characterized by left-wing polical authoritarianism and economic socialism tends to produce confusion and consternation among those public figures of virtue and integrity in Latin America who support principles of individualism, voluntarism, representative government, and private initiative and enterprise.

Although the forces tending to retard economic, social, and political progress still prevail in most of the countries and probably will continue to dominate in the foreseeable future, changes are under way which should be studied. Many Latin Americans have subjected to penetrating scrutiny programs of state interventionism in their own countries. They know what socialism means in Castro's Cuba. They are aware of the consequences of *justicialismo* in Argentina. They have concluded that the MNR in Bolivia has not only proved *contraproducente* (the reverse of expectations) but an *antijemplo* (an anti-example). The inflationary schemes of Chile, Brazil and other countries are being discussed critically. Even land redistribution programs, such as the *ejido* in Mexico, are being questioned as to effectiveness.

Socialism a Backward Economy

Many Latin Americans, mainly from the educated upper-middle classes, have examined the socialist world firsthand in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Communist China. Some have reported that insofar as human beings are concerned, socialism represents a primitive, backward economy. There is an awareness of the success of Japan with the market mechanism and the stagnation of India with socialism and planning. They express an interest in what is happening in the Philippines and Taiwan as compared to Indonesia, Ceylon, and Burma. Intellectual groups have invited leading conservative thinkers to come to Latin America in recent years to deliver papers. "Reactionary" books dealing with individual liberty and freedom are being read and discussed. Some of the textbooks used in the universities now consider the economic weaknesses of collectivism and the threat to individual freedom inherent in centralized, governmentally-directed systems. Magazines dedicated to analysis and discussion of freedom —economic, social and political—have appeared in recent years. Within the past ten years conservatives and businessmen in a number of countries have organized themselves into interest groups to propagandize for the price system or market mechanism and to bring pressure on political authority to consider the advantages of a free economic system.

In summation: Although the terms and conditions of the problem of population growth are complex and differ from country to country in Latin America, a potential solution exists everywhere if the inhibiting and restrictive policies of the past are discarded for the liberating principles of classical liberalism. I personally believe that the tide is beginning to shift in Latin America from the forces of collectivism to those of individual liberty and freedom. Should the Latin American countries adopt liberal, humane policies similar to those put into effect in Western Europe since the end of World War II, we may well expect an explosion of production of goods and services to take place, more than equal to the demands of all the human beings who may come into this world in the years to come.

Bombing North With LBJ

If, reading what the astronauts have seen
(Appropriately couched in Johnsonese)
I find the lunar landscape's really green,
And that it tastes remarkably like cheese;
Or, if, when phoneticians learn a way
To parlez from a porpoise point of view
They find the creatures ruining their day
Because they sound like NATIONAL REVIEW—
I'd boggle! All my ganglia would flip!
However, these projections simply *pale*
Beside the Barry-modeled brinkmanship
Our President continues to unveil.
How nice he's found that terrible, swift sword!
Meanwhile, the Constitution's being gored.

W. H. VON DREELE

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Special Report

The Ungentle Ways of Marshal Tito

THOMAS MOLNAR

Tito's Yugoslavia, the hope of American Liberal visionaries, recently jailed a 30-year-old professor of Russian literature, Mihajlo Mihajlov, for publishing a series of articles on his "Summer in Moscow."

Mihajlov went to Russia last year as an exchange professor. He observed the Soviet world, talked with students, interviewed film directors, poets, folksingers and writers—among them such luminaries as Ilyia Ehrenburg, Vladimir Dudintsev and Leonid Leonov. The articles he wrote are amazingly honest, and deal with Soviet reality in a way one never finds in travel notes by Western observers. He found a tremendous but suppressed hope for freedom: Dudintsev told him, for instance, that following publication of *Not by Bread Alone,* strangers on buses, streetcars and subways would surreptitiously shake his hand; poets told him of confrères locked in insane asylums; museum officials whispered that there were hidden treasures of beauty (impressionists and cubist paintings among them) kept under lock and key, considered not suitable for Communist eyes.

Mihajlov listened to young Siberian students sing and recite the poems and songs of the concentration camps (*I had never imagined the existence of songs by concentration camp prisoners: some humorous, other cynical and despairing. But all moving and sublime. Real Russia speaks through these songs, the Russia of Tolstoy and Dostoevski, the true popular songs, pure, naive, profound, melodious and tragic*). He met families (there was none he found, without at least one concentration camp victim to mourn) that did not know, and will never know, what happened to their sons, husbands, wives and sisters and he heard that it was Lenin, not Hitler who first instituted extermination camps. (*The first death camps were started not by the Germans but by the Soviets. Holmogor, near Arkhangelsk, was the first such camp, destined to the extermination of the Bolsheviks' former allies: revolutionary socialists, Mensheviks, and others. The emigré Ivan Smeljov, in a book prefaced by Thomas Mann, described the years 1920/21 when 1,200,000 men and women were shot without sentence in the Crimea*). He found that the children of the poor were not admitted to the so-called "open schools," these being reserved to the progeny of high party officials and bureaucrats; that kolkhoz workers are modern day serfs (their passports with record of absences, failures and unfilled work quotes are held in a central office); that not only is true religious freedom unknown in the Soviet Union but atheism is actively taught (*A new law sets up teams of two "re-educators" assigned to individuals suspected of harboring religious convictions. The re-educators accompany the culprit to his work, his club, even to his home, in order to perform their psychological torture*).

Dismissed from University

Mihajlov committed the indiscretion of putting all this and much more down on paper, knowing as he must have, that he was treading dangerous ground. He had already had one brush with the authorities a year earlier, when Sasha Varesh, the editor of *Kolo* had been fired for publishing a spirited defense of Dostoevski by Mihajlov. For a time it looked as if "Summer in Moscow" would not see the light of day. Several magazines turned it down and colleagues of Mihajlov at the University of Zadar advised him against having it published. But he finally found a forum in *Delo,* a Belgrade literary magazine. The first two chapters of "Summer in Moscow" appeared in the January and February issues of this year. Then the authorities moved in. Between February 1 and March 10 the following happened: Wilislav Wirkovitch, acting editor of *Delo* was dismissed and the February issue of the magazine seized. Soviet Ambassador Alexander Pusanov filed an official protest. Mihajlov was indicted on charges of defaming a foreign state. The weekly *Nin* (Sunday Information News) blasted Mihajlov as a "rightist agent of the White Guard." Tito urged Yugoslav authorities to bring to bear the full force of the law in "defense of socialism." "In such matters you must feel entirely independent politically," he told the state prosecutors, "and not hesitate in prosecuting a reactionary." (Tito has a different story to tell Western journalists who ask about the possible liberation of Djilas: "As chief of state, I have no right either to arrest or liberate a man.")

Mihajlov was dismissed from his university post and his former colleagues, in a joint declaration, hastened to put it on the record that they had never "shared his opinions." He wrote an open letter to *Nin* in his own defense that was never published in Yugoslavia but was subsequently printed in the excellent French anti-Communist magazine *Est & Ouest*). In it he revealed that far from being a "bourgeois reactionary" as *Nin* had charged, he was a child of the Tito revolution. His father had been a Tito partisan; Mihajlov himself was only five years old at the outbreak of war. He studied in Communist schools and universities, had been a member of a Yugoslav Youth Working Brigade and served in the Yugoslav army. Despite this indoctrination he admitted in his letter to *Nin* that he had come to realize that "only Christianity, not the natural law of evolution, is the religion of freedom and the oasis of a just society. . . . I consider myself a Christian." Mihajlov added that he had considered informing the foreign press that the third part of his essay, with his conclusions, had been suppressed but had not done so for fear of damaging "Yugoslav prestige in the world." "I still believe," he wrote "that Yugoslavia is the most democratic of all socialist countries."

Several days later Mihajlov found that the most democratic of all socialist countries has no intention of condoning ideological deviations on the part of its citizens—he was sentenced to nine months in jail. That sentence was changed last week to two years

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Principles and Heresies

Teilhard de Chardin: The Attack on Man

FRANK S. MEYER

I DO NOT KNOW what the newly elected General of the Jesuits meant when he said at a recent press conference that "the positive elements" in the work of Teilhard de Chardin were far more important than "the negative elements or those which are questionable." Nor would I, as a non-Catholic, argue with him on Catholic theological grounds. Philosophically, however, Teilhard's thesis would seem to me to be directed squarely against the concept of the integrity of the human person, which is the foundation of Western civilization.

Meyer

A sort of amalgamation of theological evolutionism and cosmological mysticism, Teilhard's system presents us with a universe in which the human person—and, for that matter, the person of God—is absorbed to the point of disappearance within a great "spiritual" evolutionary force. He sings a paean to that force proceeding impersonally and irresistibly to the "Omega" point where God, man, and the whole of existence are fused in a featureless unity much more akin to Brahma or Nirvana than to anything in Classical, Hebrew, or Western Christian thought.

Despite its "spiritual" trappings, Teilhardism is but another variant of the corrosive, predominantly materialist, century-old attack upon the autonomy of the person. That attack has many aspects, which differ widely in their specific content but are all characterized by a common prepossession, a prepossession which might be called "reductionism." Marxism, Freudianism, the philosophical evolutionism which would turn Darwin's scientific observations into an ideology—all of them try to suck life and meaning out of the rich and multiple spectacle of creation, reducing the whole of being to nothing more than a pale reflection of the chosen ideological force. More particularly, each of them reduces the person to a mere unit determined by that force.

Marxism reduces existence to the play of matter in motion and human beings to pawns manipulated by the development of the forces of production. The Freudian analysis of men in the final reckoning makes of them only more or less complex products of biological instincts and forces. Biological evolutionism, raised to the level of a philosophy, destroys the very meaning of the individual, subsuming him as a mere cell of the species. From these and from a dozen variants on the theme, there has developed the predominant form of contemporary intellectuality. This is expressed in multifarious ways, but fundamentally it is a denial, on the one hand, of the virtue, the freedom and the glory of the individual human person, and, on the other hand, of his responsibilities and duties.

RECOGNITION of this assault on personality, which pervades the intellectual atmosphere of the age, makes intelligible the common origin of the two phenomena (on first glance so different in character) which dominate the current social scene: grandiose Utopian schemes and campaigns; degenerate decadence of manners, morals and culture. Public life is saturated with the most idealistic visions and appeals—the Great Society socially, the New Era economically, internationalism, egalitarianism. All the imperfect modes by which imperfect men have managed to live in civilization are scorned; but the more loudly the idealisms are proclaimed, the more our social life itself degenerates.

Statistics and common experience alike show a catastrophic rise in broken families, juvenile criminality, narcotics addiction. Our great cities are infested with violence and rapidly approaching a state where the preservation of civil order will be in doubt. The moral vacuity and intellectual frivolousness of three decades of our educational system are now raising their second generation. Our fiction —and the visual arts of movie and television that draw from it—projects an image of man confused, feeble, ignoble. We are enveloped in an *ethos* that gives support neither to the sober virtues of day-to-day duties fulfilled nor to the display of nobility and heroism.

BETWEEN the ambitious ideologies and the grimy actualities, the common link is philosophical. As is so often the case (though the philistine, like the pragmatist, cannot abide the idea), the surface phenomena of our life have their origins in fundamental movements of thought. When immense impersonal forces are apotheosized as the only significant reality, so that the moral and political power of the individual person to affect reality is utterly denied, what else can result than what we see occurring about us? The two apparently incongruous aspects of that scene are only two sides of the same coin. Abstract and collective visions and movements monopolize the exercise of energy as they careen across the social scene, destroying the landmarks of civilization, for the same reason that the actual life of human beings becomes empty, purposeless, amoral. If the individual person lacks all significance, if he is but a determinant of suprapersonal forces, then only the forces and their development can have meaning, and it matters not a whit what a man does with his own life, or how much it approaches the merely brutish.

It is the disservice of Teilhard de Chardin to have given a quasi-religious aura to the philosophical outlook that has brought about this crisis of civilization. He stands, despite the verbiage in which his concepts are clothed, in direct opposition to the long philosophical tradition of the West. That tradition, fusing the insights of Greece and Israel in the transcending understanding of Christianity, has always placed the person as the ultimate and decisive reality. The recovery of that central truth is essential if our civilization, or any civilization, is to survive the storms of this age.

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Is A Prayer Amendment Coming?

The Prayer Amendment doesn't have a prayer of getting through Congress, says Prof. Rice, until the clergy as a whole realizes its importance and gets behind it

CHARLES E. RICE

It is time to reconsider the Prayer Amendment. The school prayer decisions of 1962 and 1963 outlawed the recitation of the Regents' Prayer and the Lord's Prayer, and the recitation of the Bible, in public schools. The rulings occasioned an attempt to rectify them by amending the Constitution. The effort foundered, mainly on the obstruction of Chairman Emanuel Celler of the House Judiciary Committee and the resistance of many articulate clergy. Since the collapse of the amendment drive last year, there have occurred the Johnson landslide and, on November 30, 1964, the Supreme Court's refusal to review a decision of the highest court of New York which had upheld the inclusion of the words "under God" in the pledge of allegiance. The former increased the anti-amendment forces in Congress and the latter eased the public mind by indicating the Court does not intend to erase, literally, all religious acknowledgments by government, such as the words in the pledge, the inscription "In God We Trust" on coins, prayers in legislative halls, etc.

Prayer Amendment is Needed

In plain fact there is no chance, as matters now stand, for the enactment of a prayer amendment. Unfortunately, the need for such an amendment remains real and undiminished. For one thing, the Court's refusal to review the pledge of allegiance case was not a retreat from the basic errors of the school prayer decisions. The pledge ruling (the name of the case is *Lewis* v. *Allen*) was greeted with headlines proclaiming, "Supreme Court Upholds 'Under God' in Pledge." In fact, the ruling was an exercise of the Court's discretionary power to review, or decline to review cases presented to it from lower courts. The refusal to review carries no implication as to the position the Court would take if it did decide the merits of the pledge issue. More importantly, the Court's refusal reinforces the conclusion that such a religious manifestation in public life is now permissible only if it is a mere affirmation of the historical fact that the founders believed in God, or that some Americans now so believe, and only if it scrupulously avoids any implication as to the truth or falsity of that belief in God. In the *Lewis* case, the Attorneys General of 31 states argued before the Court that the words "under God" in the pledge do not violate the First Amendment because they have no religious significance. In this, the Attorneys General relied upon Justice Brennan's dictum, in the 1963 prayer case (*Abington School District* v. *Schempp*), that the pledge is not necessarily unconstitutional because it "may merely recognize the historical fact that our Nation *was believed to have been* founded "under God." (Emphasis added.) The pledge, in Justice Brennan's view, is merely one of "the various *patriotic* exercises and activities used in the public schools and elsewhere which, whatever may have been their origins, no longer have a religious purpose or meaning." (Emphasis added.) If the Court were actually to decide the validity of "under God" in the pledge, it would probably adopt the face-saving Brennan formula, avoiding the physical erasure of the words, but only on condition that they are not to be taken seriously. This conclusion is indicated by the basic fallacy of the school prayer decisions themselves.

The controlling part of the First Amendment reads, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . ." The purpose of the first clause, the establishment clause, was to prevent the prescription by Congress (The First Amendment, by judicial construction, now binds the states as well as the Federal Government) of an official national church. It commanded neutrality on the part of government as among the various sects that profess a belief in God, that is, among *theistic* religions. But, as between theistic religious, and *non-theistic* creeds (essentially, atheism and agnosticism) that do not acknowledge God, the precept of neutrality did not obtain. Government, in line with the establishment clause, could generate an affirmative atmosphere of hospitality toward theistic religion, so long as no substantial partiality was shown toward any particular theistic sect or combination of sects.

First Congress Asked for Prayer

For purposes of the establishment clause, non-theistic beliefs were not "religions." Otherwise, an affirmation by government that there is a God would be a governmental preference, through the assertion of the essential truth of theism, of a combination of religious sects, *i.e.*, those that believe in God, to the disparagement of those religions which do not profess such a belief. On the contrary, rather than regarding theism and non-theism as variant sects within a broad category of "religion," the establishment clause regarded theism as the common denominator of all religions and non-theism it considered not to be a religion at all. Thereby, government could itself profess a belief in God, and, so long as a practical neutrality was maintained among theistic sects, the neutrality command of the establishment clause would not be breached. Thus, the First Congress, on September 24, 1789, the very same day it approved the First Amendment, called upon President Washington to declare a national day of prayer, and he complied. →

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On the other hand, the second clause of the amendment, protecting the free exercise of religion, properly embraces non-theistic beliefs within its definition of religion. Thus, an atheist or agnostic is protected in the free exercise of his "religion," and he cannot be compelled to acknowledge the existence of God or participate in a religious exercise. However, a mere government affirmation that there is a God should not violate the free exercise clause as long as no one is actually compelled to participate. Nor should the voluntary recitation in a public school of the Lord's Prayer or reading from the Bible violate either clause of the amendment since these practices, especially on the local level, represent the sort of realistic accommodation which, so long as actual coercion is avoided, is fully within the practical contemplation of the neutrality mandate.

School Prayer Decisions Err

The basic fallacy in the school prayer decisions is that they have taken the broad free exercise clause definition of religion and have intruded that definition into the establishment clause under which the decisions were rendered. Thus, the establishment clause command that government must be neutral among theistic religions is now warped to require governmental neutrality as between the two great religions, the theistic and the non-theistic.

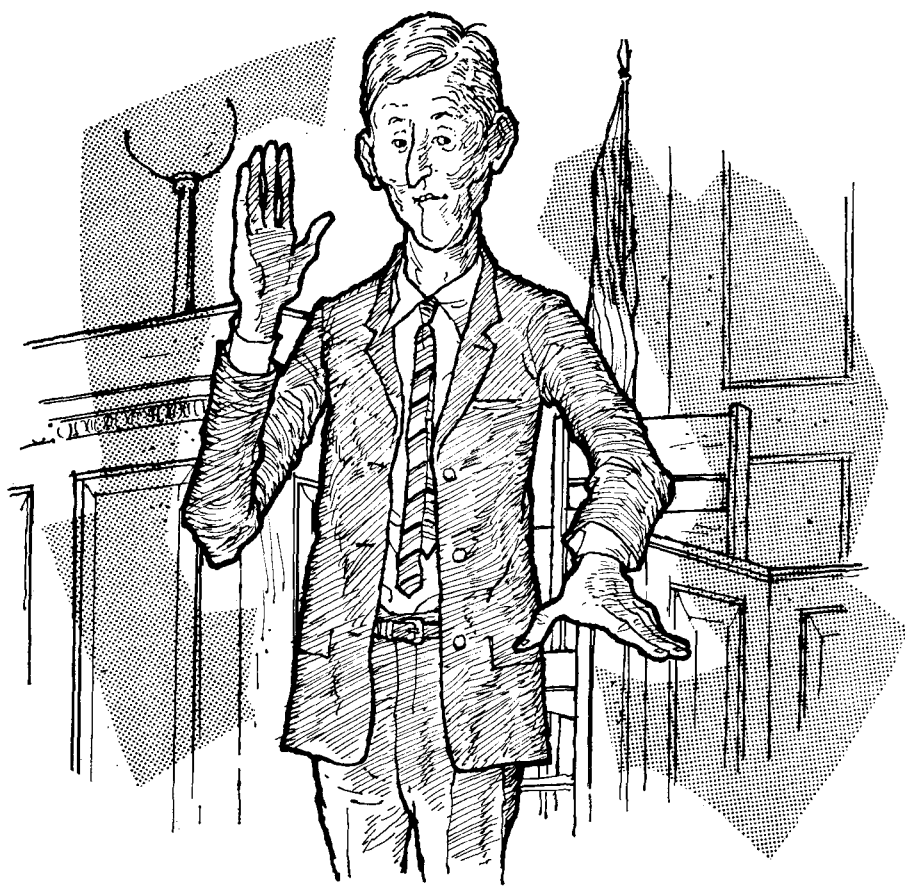
This rationale prevents an affirmation by a teacher or other government official that, *in fact,* the Declaration of Independence is true when it asserts that men are endowed "by their Creator" with unalienable rights or when it asserts the existence of "the laws of nature and of nature's God," a "Supreme Judge of the world" and "Divine Providence." In short, public school children cannot be taught that, in fact, there is a divine standard of right and wrong higher than the state. This is the primary and, over the long term, malignant, evil of the prayer rulings.

In the nature of things, moreover, governmental neutrality on the basic question of God's existence is unattainable. A governmental assertion that God does in fact exist is a preferential affirmation of the truth of theism; an assertion that God does not exist is a preference of atheism; and a perpetual suspension of judgment by government on the question is an adoption of the agnostic, non-theistic position through the implicit assertion that, as a matter of state policy, the existence of God is unknown or unknowable. The Court appears to have chosen, in the school prayer cases, a secular agnostic approach which is incompatible with the basic theistic affirmation which, prior to the tenure of this Court, was embedded in our law and tradition.

There must be considered here also the Court's tendency to construe First Amendment prohibitions abstractly and rigidly. At the hands of this Court, the vain pursuit of total religious neutrality is likely to usher in a period of government hostility toward theistic religion. This could occur as the numerous incidental supports by government of theistic religion are withdrawn or weakened, one by one, by Court decree.

Take the question of chaplains. Justice Clark, speaking for the Court in the 1963 *Schempp* case, admitted that there may be a denial of the free exercise of religion to those persons whom the government compels to be in the armed forces or prisons unless the government "permits voluntary religious services to be conducted with the use of governmental facilities." But note that he, speaking for the Court, said nothing about chaplains, but only "government facilities." The door is left open for a possible holding by the Court that government can permit religious services to be conducted by privately-supported clergy on public property in a military or prison setting, but that it is unconstitutional to put clergymen on the public payroll, except perhaps in the case of an isolated military outpost.

Challenges have also been raised to the tax privileges of religious bodies. Religious organizations in this country are generally exempt from the payment of taxes on real property they own. They are exempt from payment of income taxes, and contributions to them are deductible from the donor's federal income tax. Tax benefits have been extended lately to non-theistic religious bodies, such as the Ethical Culture Society. It could not be said, therefore, that religious tax privileges operate to favor only



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theistic religions. Rather, their invalidity would have to rest upon a supposed inability of government to aid religion in general or all religious groups indiscriminately.

In the *Schempp* case, the Supreme Court formulated this "test": "That is to say that to withstand the strictures of the Establishment Clause there must be a secular legislative purpose and a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion." It is unrealistic to say that tax privileges do not have "a primary effect" that "advances" religion. The tenor of the Court's pronouncement in this area justifies the expectation that the tax advantages will be abolished except insofar as they can be shown to benefit only the secular activities of religious bodies. Thus one might be allowed to deduct a gift used by a church-conducted hospital for the purchase of an operating table but not a gift used for the erection or maintenance of a parish church. Similarly, a gift used to buy mathematics texts for a parochial school might be deductible (provided, one might assume, that the books do not teach addition by adding Hail Marys) but not one used to buy catechisms. A similar apportionment would apply to the churches' exemption from real property taxes.

It is this prospect which raises a major irony of the amendment controversy—that so many clergy, who have much to lose from the predictable extensions of the prayer rulings, have been vocal in their opposition to any effort to curb the Court.

When the Senate Judiciary Committee held hearings on the prayer amendment in 1962, there appeared in favor of an amendment five Protestant, one Orthodox and four Catholic spokesmen, including the representative of Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York. In opposition were eight Protestant, no Catholic, sixteen Jewish, and two Unitarian or humanist advocates. Two years later, when Chairman Emanuel Celler finally consented to hold hearings, he conducted in the House Judiciary Committee a serio-comic production in which, by my rough count, 274 witnesses or statements were produced. In favor of an amendment were eighty Protestant, one Orthodox, nine Catholic (but including no representative of the hierarchy, with the exception of Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, whose testimony was checkmated by being bracketed in press accounts with Governor George Wallace, who testified on the same day in favor of amendment) and three Jewish proponents. But by this time the supporters of the Court had roused one hundred twenty Protestant, one Orthodox, seventeen Catholic (including spokesmen for many Catholic periodicals, the lay director of the Legal Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and a couple of lawyer priests), thirty-four Jewish and nineteen Unitarian or humanist opponents. Even more than in quantity, the opponents of an amendment prevailed in prestige and press coverage. And this despite the fact that virtually all polls taken since 1962 show an overwhelming majority of the public in favor of an amendment. But the most significant difference between the two hearings lies in the growth of Roman Catholic opposition to the amendment idea.

Court a Threat to Religion?

The hesitation of Catholic leaders to support the amendment effort may be fairly ascribed in part to an unfounded fear that a prayer amendment would upset the existing First Amendment balance on the matter of federal aid to parochial schools. The Catholic Church has insistently, and correctly, proclaimed the probable constitutionality of including parochial schools in programs of federal aid, and the evident unfairness of excluding them. Largely as a result of that campaign, there has now been enacted an extensive program of federal aid for special purposes, such as the purchase of textbooks, which will go to children in parochial as well as public schools. It is likely that the Catholic schools would not have been so easily counted in but for the scarcity of articulate Catholic opposition to the secularistic pressure groups, and the Administration, on the prayer amendment issue. While this federal aid continues, with its necessary close cooperation between the Church and the government, and especially with its supposed dependence on the existing First Amendment balance, the Catholic Church is not likely to emerge as an institutional proponent of a prayer amendment. Presumably, the same will be true of other denominations receiving the federal support.

On the other hand, two judicial developments may soon galvanize the churches into a realization that the Supreme Court is indeed a threat to organized religion. One development is the challenge to the tax privileges of religious bodies, concerning which several lawsuits are now in progress. The other is the growing recognition in the law that the recipient of a substantial governmental subsidy is bound by certain of the constitutional restrictions incumbent upon the subsidizing government. Thus, a private hospital receiving federal funds under the Hill-Burton Act may not discriminate racially although it could do so if it were not receiving the subsidy. By analogy, the religious restrictions of the First Amendment could also apply to the recipient of a public subsidy. The argument has been made that substantial federal aid cannot be extended to parochial schools as long as they give preference to their parishioners in their admission policies or as long as they incorporate religious practices and instruction into the regular school day. As a corollary, once a church accepts the aid, it must discontinue the offending policies and practices. The argument is sound and powerful.

Perhaps the traumatic effect of such a turning of the financial screws is a prerequisite to a general realization that the organized works of God can flourish only in a society where government maintains a posture, not of spurious neutrality and consequent hostility, but of affirmative hospitality toward theistic religion. Those of us who seek to reverse the school prayer decisions and curb the pretensions of the Court, can serve that end by urging that awareness upon each cleric of our acquaintance. For the primary focus of the amendment effort must now be the education of the clergy of all denominations—to persuade those who are hostile or neutral and to energize those who are favorable but inactive. Action on the congressional front is secondary because, for the time being, it is foredoomed to failure and because congressional approval will be had only if and when the voices of organized religion demand it.

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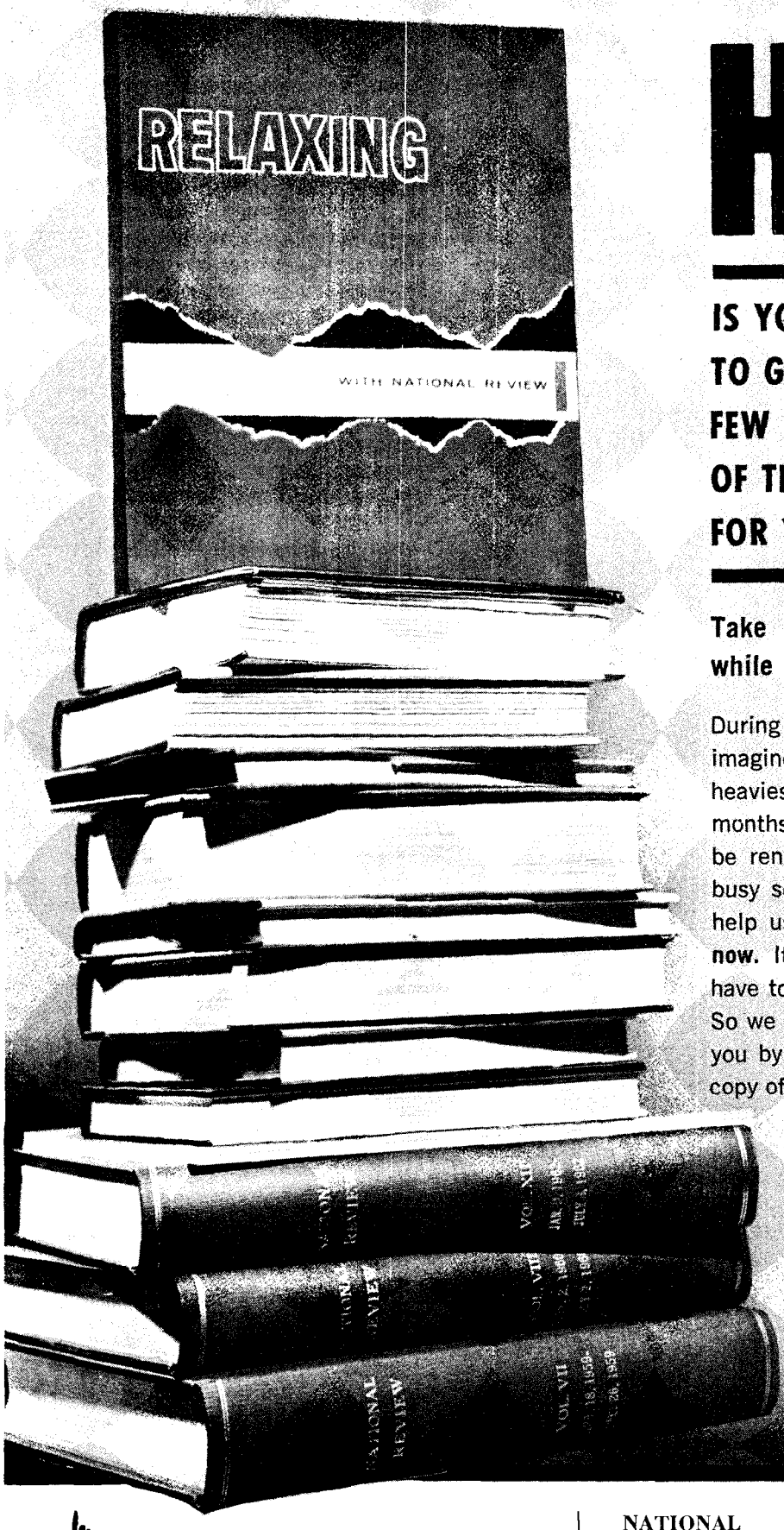

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A War of Maneuver

STEFAN T. POSSONY

If we were living a hundred years earlier, Herman Kahn would be running a Bible school or he would be a famed *Wunderrabbi* in Kolomea. Fifty years ago he might have been a socialist sage in a Vienna *café* where he might have played chess with Trotsky—and probably would have won. Since he is incarnate today, his books are published in New York, Washington and London, and the publisher introduces him as "mathematician, physicist, master strategist."

Kahn himself senses the incongruity. In the preface to this book he avers that the expert audiences to whom he habitually lectures "generally" are "much sounder on most questions of military policy than many Liberal intellectuals." Yet on "the wider issues" Kahn's "own views are often much more in accord with generally recognized Liberal positions than with the opinions of many in [my] audiences." In the vast "community" of operational researchers who are advising the U.S. Government on national security, Kahn is among the best and most realistic. Since he is representative of his profession, it may be hoped that the whole group ultimately will succeed in shedding its blinders.

Whenever Kahn realizes that a "general recognized Liberal position" is logically weak but feels constrained to uphold it, he tends to rely on "visceral feelings." He may argue that some facts, assumptions or interpretations are "incredible." Or he may defend the "recognized position" on the grounds of "prudence." Sometimes he counts noses among those "reputable" experts who have studied the problem "systematically." Those who disagree presumably are neither experts nor reputable, or have not studied the problem. The redeeming feature is that Kahn does not conceal his emotional judgments. Unfortunately, he is not always conscious of his "derivations," if I may use one of Pareto's terms.

On Escalation, Metaphors and Scenarios, by Herman Kahn. Praeger, $6.95

Kahn painstakingly gives credit to every one of his associates and admirers who ever invented a term or suggested a concept. But outsiders do not exist. Not that Kahn lacks generosity or would refuse to identify me, for example, as the originator of a key concept he is using. It is just a matter of inbreeding.

There is indeed much to talk about, and the conversation is always scintillating and often brilliant. Still, it might have helped if Kahn had looked at what the Communists are saying. Many of his assumptions about Soviet thinking are at variance with the findings of Thomas W. Wolfe, whose almost contemporaneous book, *Soviet Strategy at the Crossroads*, he *could* have consulted. He ignores pertinent documentation published by the Georgetown Center of Strategic Studies and he might have read with profit *Protracted Conflict*, published by the Foreign Policy Research Institute.

Kahn admits that he has committed the "besetting sin of most U.S. analysts" of having "attributed to the Soviets a kind of military behavior that may in fact be appropriate only to U.S. analysts—and not at all relevant to Soviet conditions and attitudes." Fortunately, things are looking up, for "as part of a general Hudson Institute program, several theories of escalation are being developed that seem consistent with Soviet ideological and political assumptions and with Russian national and military traditions and conventions." As a starter, a highly unconvincing "hypothetical" Soviet escalation ladder is presented. Not much will be gained if the Hudson program is restricted to reading what American sons of Russian Mensheviks have to say about Bolshevik strategy. But if Kahn's crew were to immerse themselves in Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and Truong Chinh, to such an extent that they understood the inner secrets of Communist strategic thinking empathetically, the trouble could be cured.

KAHN'S PRESENT escalation models apply to opponents of a more or less identical type. Obviously, the models must change if, for example, one side is constantly eager to liquidate the struggle, while the other is engaged in a protracted conflict and considers each crisis as a step on an escalation ladder that is visualized in a time framework rather than in terms of violence. It is equally obvious that the models must change if we assume that one side is struggling to preserve social continuity and evolution, while the other aims to "smash" existing institutions and states and may be conditioned to inflict mass casualties.

Kahn opposes the diffusion of nuclear weapons with an argument that ignores many of the really crucial problems; he does not even try to see the point of view of our NATO allies. Nor is he very illuminating about alternate courses of action. However, and now happily I turn to the satisfactory portions of the book, he does a superb job in presenting

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an original proposal for the gradual deployment of American anti-ballistic-missile systems. He is just as good in discussing civil defense, stressing the merits of evacuation as a practical and indispensable measure.

The real topic of this book is how crises can be managed by increasing the military effort, the level of violence, and the threat to the opponent; how to continue a "competition in risk taking" up various ladders of growing violence and danger; or, as the case may be, how to de-escalate international crises toward safer intensities. Kahn's philosophy is that we should learn how to use force, coercion, violence, and threat in a reasonable and effective manner. He has done a masterly job of distinguishing the various "rungs" on the escalation ladder and illustrating multiple options that would be available on each of these rungs. There is no question that Kahn has suggested many concepts and measures through which the United States could improve its ability to manage the Cold War. More important still, he has indicated types of United States strategic behavior which could prevent the degeneration of the Cold War into a full-fledged nuclear war.

MODERN CONFLICT, in several aspects, may be compared to the relatively "bloodless" wars of maneuver that occurred during the Renaissance; whenever feasible, we should conduct the struggle according to this model. The notion that use or non-use of nuclear weapons constitutes the most important, if not the only real "fire-break" on the escalation ladder is effectively debunked. Kahn criticizes American war planning, and rightly so, for neglecting the possibilities of long war. He argues that if there are fixed peacetime budgets, "a greater degree of effectiveness can be achieved by increasing the emergency-readiness and mobilization characteristics of systems than by increasing their capability in being." He proposes a badly needed distinction between offensive and defensive deterrence. In passages which reconcile this reviewer to virtually all of his "besetting sins," Kahn emphasizes the imperative necessity for the United States to resume the serious study of strategy and tactics. He specifically opposes the asinine theory that since nuclear war, regardless of what tactics are used, would be annihilative, "tactical theory" is irrelevant. In reality, whether nuclear war can be avoided and whether losses can be limited effectively depends primarily on strategy and tactics. I may add that while the operational arts are interrelated with technology, a good portion of the

Random Notes

● BOOKS: Biographies of the hitherto ignored: Jonathan Root's *Halliburton* (Coward-McCann, October, $5.50); Quentin Reynolds' *Jennie Went to the Country,* about Jennie Grossinger (Viking, July, $5.95); *Steel Rails to the Sunrise,* about the Long Island Railroad yes indeed (Duell, August, $12.95). . . . Edmund Wilson updates himself in *The Bit Between My Teeth,* subtitled "A Literary Chronicle of 1950-1965" (Farrar, November). . . . Five of Charles Williams' "spiritual thrillers" are being reissued as $1.95 paperbacks by Wm. B. Eerdmans. . . . Susan Sontag discusses pop art, science fiction, criticism, "camp" and other things of interest to Susan Sontag in *Against Interpretation,* a volume of essays coming in August (Farrar, $4.95). . . . It had to happen: July brings us two whole studies of W. G.—James Baker's *William Golding: A Critical Study* (St. Martin's) and Oldsey & Weintraub's *The Art of William Golding* (Harcourt). He's no longer the collegians' own—now he belongs to the sages.

● HMMMM: *American Heritage* and Dell plan to inundate the supermarkets of the land with a series of hardcover books covering all of the 50 states. Prices will be 99¢—except for Alabama, which will sell for 49¢. Loss leader?

● MOVIES INTO BOOKS: Two on Mr. Wince—*Bogey: The Films of Humphrey Bogart,* a pictorial album edited by Clifford McCarthy (Citadel, August, $6.95) and *Bogey—the Good-Bad Guy,* Ezra Goodman's biography (Lyle Stuart, September). All this in spite of reports that, up Harvard Square way, they've abandoned Bogart for Eddie Cantor. . . . Bosley Crowther picks the 50 best movies of all time in *The Great Films,* a picture book. He also tells why he picked them, but we can still look at the pictures (Putnam's, $12.95).

● BOOKS INTO MOVIES: Warner Bros. have bought *Up the Down Staircase, An American Dream, Hotel, A Covenant with Death.* Gosh! . . . Matthew Gregory Lewis' 18th-century Gothic chiller, *The Monk,* will star Jeanne Moreau; director is Luis Buñuel. . . . Producer Oscar Dancigers plans to film Bellow's *Henderson the Rain King,* and wants Zero Mostel for the lead. . . . They finally made a movie of Cocteau's delicious *Thomas L'Imposteur.* Georges Franju directed; it's now showing in France. . . . Banner Associates have bought rights to Victor Appleton's 25 "Tom Swift" books—probably for use as a TV series.

● MOVIES: More on La Loren playing Mother Cabrini: Nuns at Cabrini College have written MGM to object—on grounds not of Sophia's morals, but her physique. Mother Cabrini, they say, "was a small, slender woman. Miss Loren is bulky." . . . Billy Wilder will make a new comedy, starring Jack Lemmon and Walter Matthau. He has postponed *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* until 1966—had hoped to star Peter O'Toole and Peter Sellers as Holmes and Watson. . . . Prediction: Joe Levine's *Nevada Smith* will become a cult-Western à la *The Magnificent Seven,* starring as it does Steve McQueen and Roddy McDowall.

● BARGAINS OF THIS OR ANY FORTNIGHT: An original oil portrait of one Jean Harlow, by "world-famous Henry Clive." The asking price, says the ad in *Variety,* is only $8500.

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relevant technology is developed at the prompting of military planners and commanders.

For the United States the strategic problem remains how to deter escalation by the opponent and at the same time ensure that we retain options to escalate *unilaterally* whenever we deem more forceful measures to be unavoidable. Kahn points out correctly that mere military superiority does not suffice to ensure "escalation dominance." Unfortunately, he fails to develop the crucial question of how the United States can acquire and maintain a reliable capability of dominating escalation. Yet without this capability, the Free World has no assurance of survival.

Kahn is provocative, informative, and witty. He is a good phrase-maker. He is also absolutely honest and, for the most part, constructive. And he excels at his real job, which is to build abstract models for the benefit of the strategists.

Grist to the Historian's Mill

SIR SHANE LESLIE

THERE IS LIKELY TO BE an unceasing flow of books directed at the memory of Winston Churchill. My American father-in-law, Governor Henry Ide, had been Chief Justice of Samoa and used to relate that he was the only resident or visitor to that island who had not written his or her memories of Robert Louis Stevenson's life there. It will become more so with the Churchill memory, and a critic's chief duty will be to separate the few valuable books from the chaff; but a certain amount of grain is even now pouring into the granaries.

Winston Churchill: An Intimate Portrait, by Violet Bonham Carter. Harcourt, $8.50

Twenty-One Years, by Randolph S. Churchill, Houghton, $5.00

Violet Bonham Carter met Winston when she was nineteen and he was thirty-two. He sat beside her at dinner shortly after her father had admitted him into his Liberal government and she was near at hand at his death as the last of his old Liberal friends. Her pages will be cut to pieces by the historians in search of genuine anecdotes. During Violet's exciting first meeting he told her that all men were worms but he believed he was a glow-worm! She taught him that Keats and Blake were poets; he had thought of Blake only as an Admiral. Later they exchanged Cabinet secrets.

Mr. Asquith was a good judge and delighted to welcome Winston into his Liberal Party. The dying Joe Chamberlain remarked that it was Balfour's great mistake to have let him go from the Tories. He told Violet: "He is not only remarkable but unique. He will now have every chance to extend himself and show his paces." When she asked for comparisons with Winston's father, he replied: "You can't compare them. Randolph was irresistible. He had incomparably more charm, more wit. But Winston is by far the better fellow of the two."

These were days when Winston was convinced that he would die young. His father had died at forty-six. The dream that they would be comrades, if not at home at least in the House of Commons, perished. Winston continued alone, relying then on doses of oxygen to make speeches. But an unexpected ally asserted itself in his American blood and what he called "the Jerome constitution," which provided his long life.

It seems difficult to believe that anyone alive could fill 450 pages under the title, as it appeared in England, of *Winston Churchill As I Knew Him* --even a relative or follower, and least of all a woman. Yet this is an entrancing book filled up to the brim with his whole political history. The smaller paragraphs are rather like what a private Kodak could add, and all the snapshots are jewels. Very few women can have known him so intimately, besides his mother Jennie or his aunt Leonie or his wife Clemmie. No women, perhaps no statesmen, ever guessed how deeply

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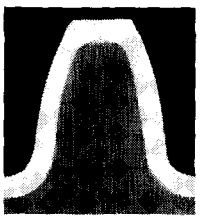

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Dr. Anthony T. Bouscaren, Professor of Political Science, Le Moyne College, Syracuse, New York, developed the first compulsory college course on Communism at the University of San Francisco. In 1956 he gained national attention as a result of his television debate with former President Harry Truman. He has written seven books on world affairs, his latest being *The Political Left in America.* Why not write Catherine Babcock for openings in Mr. Bouscaren's fall and winter schedule?

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Dr. Russell Kirk, author of *Fulminations of a Nocturnal Bookman,* has a few openings left in his scheduled tour of the West Coast next January.

Our other prominent speakers include L. Brent Bozell, author of the forthcoming analysis of the U.S. Supreme Court entitled *The Warren Court: A Dissenting Opinion;* William A. Rusher, publisher of National Review; Ralph de Toledano, syndicated columnist and author of *The Winning Side;* Frank S. Meyer, senior editor of National Review; Dr. Thomas Molnar, lecturer and author of *The Failure of Counter-revolution;* William F. Rickenbacker, senior editor of National Review.

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he foresaw himself slowly wading into "deep tides of destiny." Tariffs and Free Trade, Budgets, even Irish Home Rule, were only the debates of the hour; they passed with their politics. But with the British Navy in hand and Germany *in terrorem* he settled down to the future as it was told him by his Daemon. Violet was rapidly aware of his genius, as she poured forth to her father.

The Admiralty offered entry into world chess. He began building and moving ships, challenging his lifetime enemy, Germany. Looming in the background were Admiral Fisher and Lord Kitchener. Violet has well described them as a megalomaniac and a megalith; they were to wreck the first part of Winston's life between them by sinking the Dardanelles expedition, which he had planned.

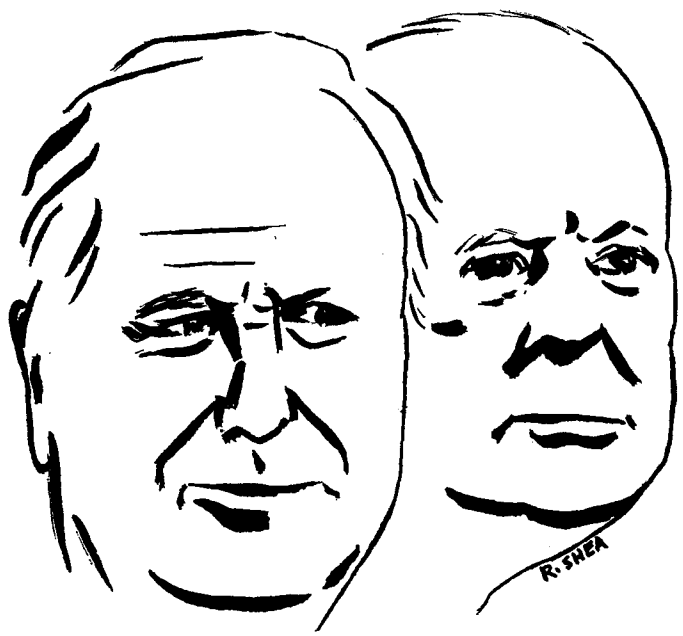
Violet, who became the sister his family lacked, saw much of Winston on the *Enchantress,* the Admiralty yacht. On official trips in the Mediterranean, Winston was muttering about sea-ranges and measuring visibilities on deck, but the others were devoted to playing bridge. Winston "played a romantic game untrammeled by conventions, codes or rules." When his partner protested: "But First Lord—you discarded the Knave," came the answer: "The cards I throw away are not worthy of observation or I should not discard them. It is the cards *I play* on which you should concentrate your attention." Even a card game revealed Winston's policy in higher games when he discarded generals or admirals.

There was battle practice on the holiday and firing at a target. The rotten result would better not be revealed in that year 1912. Violet could never forget Winston's face when the Admiral broke to him that all the great guns missed every shot, either just short or just a little beyond. What Winston replied could not be described. The Mediterranean proved as unlucky to Winston as it once was to Napoleon.

Violet's diaries in their entirety should be printed as a book. There must be much else touching vital years. There seems little doubt that had Winston been left alone in command and supported by the Cabinet, he would have scored victories over Antwerp and the Dardanelles, schemes which were entirely his own. He was cruelly frustrated by his enemies at home, who steadily sought his political extinction. Many hoped he would not return alive from France and said so. "Keep him out of Downing Street" was their motto. Winston wisely waited till they were dead. He carried on the Second War single-handed and single-hearted.

The real interest of *Twenty-One Years,* the early life of Randolph Churchill, must be its comparison with Winston's, and for this it will be read and read. How did father and son react in their early days to nannies, schools, bigger boys, religious difficulties, and their first specimens of girlhood?

Young Randolph, as I remember, would have won any baby beauty prize. Compared to his own rough looks, Winston was naturally proud of the Adonis in his nursery. He could only spoil him and give him all that he had been deprived of so many



years ago, such as offering him the choice of Eton or Harrow. Randolph chose Eton chiefly because Winston recalled his school days at Harrow as penal servitude. On the whole Randolph had a better time at Sandroyd and Eton. He writes outspokenly, especially of an assistant master at Sandroyd who treated him immorally. Never had he seen his father so angry when word leaked out. Winston spent a day in pursuit of the master who

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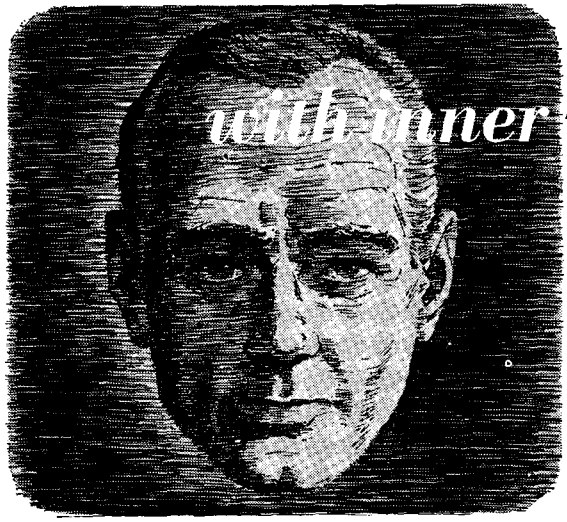
had already been removed. Mr. Birley, late headmaster of Eton, described to me Winston bringing his prodigy, hoping he would do well enough to qualify in a line of fame. The first Randolph had been an Etonian. Birley realized the second needed discipline and was only becoming a journalist. With a first-rate brain he was unwilling to think for himself.

When Randolph reached his twenty-first birthday, his proud papa gave a famous dinner to which other famous and proud papas brought their boys to be matched with Randolph. This occasion naturally affords the climax of the book. Such a dinner, or rather a race of colts, had never been tried before. Lord Dufferin wrote later as a father "how remarkable a thing it is that breeding in horses and dogs is so respected and in men it is so disregarded. Of all those who spoke that evening there was not one who could not trace his gifts directly to an ancestral source."

I was a spectator and it is fascinating to recall the entrants. I sat next to Dufferin's own son Basil who succeeded him, but died sadly enough, as Randolph explains, through drink. Who else can I remember amongst competing papas? Lord Hailsham, Admiral Beatty, Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Camrose, Lord Reading, Lord Salisbury, all deceased, but what has become of their colts? Randolph has failed to come near his father, but no less has the whole generation of them made no mark. What it leads up to is the query why famous men, except the Adamses and Darwins, never breed true? At the banquet mentioned the most unlucky failure must have been Lloyd George's hopeful. It would have been interesting if Franklin Roosevelt's brood had also been invited.

It is understood that since the death of Winston's chosen trustees, Lord Cherwell and Brendan Bracken, his letters and papers have passed to Randolph and been housed in the attractive house on the Stour pictured in the book. Their enormous value to historians will depend not so much on Randolph's comments as on the accuracy and full texts of the correspondences. Until this final book is printed, perhaps in five years, it matters little how many less faithful memoirs are given to the gaping world. Only those who have glimpsed the unpublished papers can believe how staggering they will prove.



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The Dilemmas of Equality

STANLEY PARRY

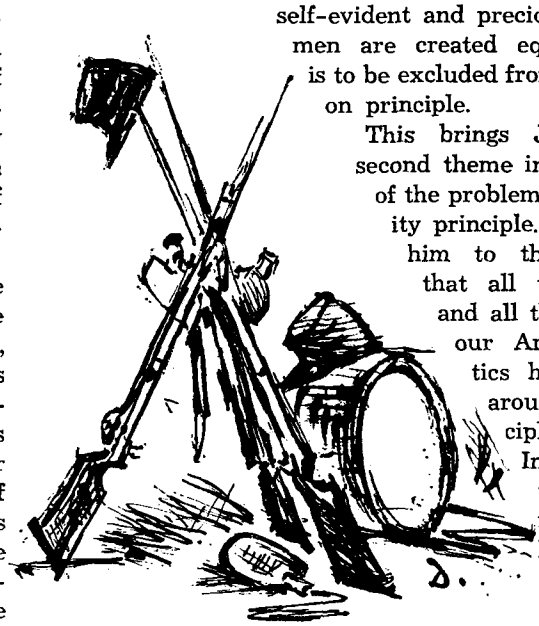
IN 1835 Alexis de Tocqueville published his great study of *Democracy in America*. It was motivated by a fear and an observation: The fear that the "providential fact" of equality in its inexorable march through history would destroy human freedom; and the observation that America had rooted its political system in the principle of equality, yet remained free. From this was born the hope that ways could be found to harmonize the principle of equality with that of liberty. In *Equality and Liberty*, Harry Jaffa continues the investigation of this problem in a spirit not unworthy of de Tocqueville. Like him, Jaffa maintains a quiet, studious attitude toward the great American experiment in equality. He seeks understanding through a careful analysis of American experience and thought on this principle up through the Civil War. He carefully avoids the civil rights controversy of our day, but his careful analysis of the pre-Civil War debate makes it clear that the problem of civil rights is a deeply imbedded one in American society.

Equality and Liberty, by Harry V. Jaffa. Oxford, $5.75

Jaffa, however, has not written a book about the Civil War, but one about the problem of equality. This idea has engendered two types of problems in our domestic affairs. The first is intrinsic: the problem of majority rule, its necessity and its limits. The second is extrinsic, rooted in history. It began in the colonies when the first slave was brought to the New World. It had deepened as early as 1789 to the point where the Constitution itself had to make awkward compromises, which broke down in 1860.

Fundamental to Jaffa's book is the idea that American political thought and practice has centered around the logically necessary consequences that flow from the principle of equality. First, since among men equal in their nature as men, no man or group has a right by nature to govern the rest, the principle of government by consent is the necessary organizational principle of government. This means the consent of all. Yet as an operative necessity, it can mean only the effective consent of the majority who elect the government. Thus there emerges the difficult problem of the protection of the minority, or, to put it another way, how to keep the minority under the mantle of the consent principle. Is majority rule absolute, or does it have limits? If it has limits, how can these be defined? And when defined, how can they be enforced?

These problems are not new in the literature of political theory. But Jaffa enriches the discussion of them by analyzing them as part of the concrete political experience of Americans. This is an important experience because Americans have always understood it to be unique in political history; because of the consciousness with which they have accepted the principle of equality, and even more because of the special problem raised by majorities in a federal system of divided sovereignty.



To handle the problem of the limited majority, political parties emerged in American politics, as the instrument for the formation of shifting majorities whose unstable interest-constellations argued the certainty of future defeat. This makes for a calculated restraint in using temporary power.

But majorities in the United States do not shift rapidly. For this reason parties perform two functions. First they form majorities, areas of consensus about interests and policies. Once these areas are discovered both parties seek to capture the consensus rather than change it. "Me-tooism" is at times a legitimate political stance. But the majority becomes old and careless and usually supports the same party. It pushes too hard. Thus the moment comes when the opportunity arises to change the consensus and form a new alignment of interests on the basis of new policies. This happened with Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Roosevelt. Their experience shows that the fundamental appeal of the new alignment is that the party in power has become a threat to freedom by permanently excluding some from the majority consensus—that is, essentially, that political equality is threatened. At these moments in history, "me-tooism" is roundly condemned in the party seeking power. There is the sense of need for which a new majority can be formed.

Through this mechanism we have achieved both stable government and long-range policy formulation, within the context of a built-in protection of minorities. It is an untidy process at best, this massive build-up of consensus, its disintegration, and its reformulation on new lines. Its best quality is that it works to protect freedom. But to work, it requires an over-all consensus, agreement on a self-evident and precious truth: all men are created equal. No one is to be excluded from the process on principle.

This brings Jaffa to the second theme in his analysis of the problem of the equality principle. And it leads him to the conclusion that all the successes and all the failures of our American politics have centered around the principle of equality. In all this jostling of minorities coalescing into ever-changing majorities, a minority was excluded—the Negro slave. Jaffa's learned analysis of the Lincoln-Douglas debates illuminates with a solemn wisdom de Tocqueville's prediction: "If America ever undergoes great revolutions, they will be brought about by the presence of the black race on the soil of the United States: that is to say, they will owe their origin not to equality, but to inequality of condition."

THE ESSENCE of the problem of slavery was to be found in a dilemma. On the one hand a political system based on equality cannot tolerate the idea that some men in it are *in prin-*

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ciple not equal. This is the deeper meaning of Lincoln's half-slave, half-free aphorism. On the other hand, state majorities were treating some men so, but in a context where the incubus of ancient mistakes had thrust the problem of the protection of property rights into the problem. Were minorities subject to the confiscation of their properties of any kind? The Dred Scott decision said no. By implication some other solution had to be found. For years the debate was treated as a practical matter: how to establish equality for the Negro without destroying extensive property rights of slave holders. As long as the debate centered around the question of some feasible policy that would protect equality without destroying property rights, the tension between local state majorities and the national majority remained stable. Both parties could form majorities drawn from North and South on compromise approaches. Lincoln's position emerges as follows: Slavery cannot be abolished immediately without raising impossible problems. It may not be allowed to spread into the territories. It should be contained where it is, and policies followed that will lead it to wither away. This was the solution short of war—a struggle to win a policy consensus that would not violate the rights of minorities who were state majorities, and at the same time would establish the principle of equality for the Negro minorities in the states.

The Civil War became inevitable when two absolute camps emerged: those who called for immediate abolition and damn the consequences and those who began to defend slavery as good *in principle*. No party could form an acceptable majority consensus, given this division. And so the Northern majority abandoned the consensus orientation. Yet Jaffa is astute enough to see, even in this appeal to arms, a reappearance of the problem of the majority in a particularly complex fashion: may a state majority withdraw itself from the process of forming national majorities?

Jaffa agrees with Lincoln that, as it turned out, the Civil War did not constitute a breakdown in the American principle of equality, but rather a test whether "this nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure." Whether, that is to say, equality and its concomitant consent is a viable principle in a society that also values freedom. And the great achievement of Jaffa is to see that the test of war involved not only slavery, but equally the whole question of minority and majority relations among the equal white people. The war proved it could survive, because it did survive . . . even though the problem of equality remains with us.

Ballet

Un-Anglo-Saxon Attitudes

ARLENE CROCE

I ASK MYSELF if American boys will feel more like taking up dancing after Rudolf Nureyev has passed among them, or less. Every great male dancer has in his time cut an evangelical swath, and by giving notice that one can be elegant and male, too, has eased if not precisely delighted many a father's faint heart. For Americans today Jacques d'Amboise's casual grandeur, Edward Villella's mercurial zest, are palpably reassuring; as reassuring as was the great dancing of the two American-adopted stars, Eglevsky and Youskevitch, before them. But part of Nureyev's fascination—his manner seems at every moment to imply it—is his refusal to reassure anyone about anything. His haughty isolation, the romantic ambiguity of his presence, are more intense on this, his second tour of Hurok's America, than on his first. His stage manners (he may turn his back on an applauding audience) and his curtain calls are more amusingly perverse than ever.

And this is no "Russian" exoticism but a calculated personal style he seems to find congenial. Audiences do, too—when they are not collapsing in delighted giggles over what clearly must seem, at times, a put-on as big as the Ritz. Nureyev's way with fourteen feet of streaming cloak, his heavy languor in static poses, and his awful sick room make-up (disheveled mane, blackened eyepits in an ashen

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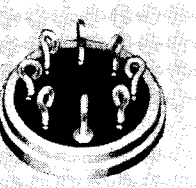

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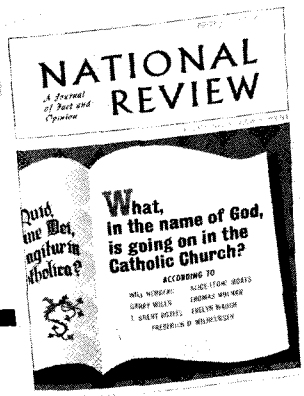

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—I am compelled to say "visage") are the last word in Pre-Raphaelite aestheticism—his idea, perhaps, of the perfect Englishman. Maybe it all does add up in the improbable mathematics of British taste. Nothing less could account for the act he and Dame Margot Fonteyn have managed to put together out of the mutually quite unassimilable halves of their personalities.

Contrary to legend, they do not go together particularly well. Fonteyn's enthusiasts conjure up a Nureyev rampant, tigerish, whom she has quite safely, thank you, on a leash. But it's not at all clear that she has domesticated him; if anything, the smile is on the face of the tiger. When they meet it is on that plane of elevated narcissism where great ballet stars dwell when the challenges have all been faced or evaded and the living is too easy. Cosseted by English institutional tenderness, Fonteyn's subtle self-absorption, ladylike, austerely composed, meshes with his lavish egotism in perfect professional understanding.

A LOT of people who saw Nureyev in New York have been inclined to dismiss him as the sum of his excesses, an overpublicized phenomenon of whom *Newsweek* wrote: "He radiates light so coruscating that it is like staring at the sun without glasses." But when Nureyev is not actively encouraging disbelief by his acting, which is terrible, he is as real, human and persuasive a dancer as any of the great Russians of the past. His style in the dance is the heroic grand manner, the ironclad idioms of which survive as tokens of a former age's flourishing elegance. Ballet died to Russia as bureaucratic hostility (before as well as after the Revolution) forced one after another of its artists into retirement or Western exile. Nureyev, out of Leningrad from Siberia, is only the latest of a long train. Soviet usage has stunted Russian classical technique without quite overhauling it. Today it looks mostly overdeliberative and heavy with little sense of wit or irony, no sense at all of fun. Utterly un-American, obstinately un-British, the Manner never slips—not a step, not the slightest gesture, is ever thrown away.

This is what gives Russian dancers, women especially, their puritanical look (Edwin Denby has remarked how the women of the Bolshoi move as if prepared for immolation), but Nureyev's genius is to have converted the heavy premeditation of the style into a personal rhetoric. In *Swan Lake* a *legato solo* has the poignancy of a boy's defenses against the world. In *La Bayadère*, a masterpiece set by Petipa to Minkus' barbarous din, he is Solor, noble savage, stiffly eloquent and only a little silly in fourth, one foot splayed toward three o'clock, the other toward nine. Wonderful, this dignity; wonderful and sad, too, the way he keeps it obsessively throughout all the air work—jumps abnormally high, turns abnormally, thrillingly slow, like spaced syllables in speech. All of Nureyev's beauty in motion comes from his power to preserve the sculptured mass of a pose in space, at slow *tempi* as well as fast ones, and all of his effort as a performer, his poetic love of the monumental image, even his excesses, gain integrity and expressive force by it. So that, lacking the speed, fluency and line of other male stars, and lacking as yet complete technical mastery, he is still magnificent.

Whether Nureyev possesses the dancer's ultimate knowledge, that of self, is a question for connoisseurs of star performance to ask themselves seriously. In interviews he says, "I am Tartar." And it's true his curtain calls, sullen, imperious, each lasting minutes, could not be more Cream of Tartary. The choreography for them never changes and is always done in slow motion. First the right arm, palm extended, is raised to the upper galleries. Then it is lowered and the left is raised, palm ditto, to the left galleries. Then the right palm is brought to the left breast bone and the gaze lifts right. Lower, reverse and repeat. Sometimes during this rite, while the applause sleets down

around him, the merest fractional shadow of a smile seems to appear. The face of the tiger? Ivan the Terrible? Or just some royal razzmatazz cribbed from one of Olivier's movies?

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You are not even sure that he does smile. Only that in New York as in London, little girls are made to scream, "Rudi, Rudi, Rudi," long into the night.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

DANTE, by Thomas G. Bergin (Orion Press, $6.50). Commemorating the seventh centennial of the birth of *il miglio fabbro del parlar materno,* Professor Bergin has written an elegant and instructive handbook for initiate *dantisti.* With a marked facility for condensation that makes no concessions to aridity or opacity, he guides the reader through the medieval religious and political mazes of Europe and Italy, presents a brief and vivid portrait of Florence around the ideal year of 1300, and a biography of Alighieri, the man, the reader, and the maker. With this much in the way of prologue, the book is given over chiefly to lucid exegeses of the works, with emphasis upon form and language. The divine *Commedia*—"the greatest poem of our tradition"—receives the full attention of the four final chapters and is discussed in terms of narrative, allegory, doctrine, and technique. Precisely figured maps and charts reveal the grand order which the medieval mind projected upon its cosmos. No claims are made for critical innovations, but the sureness with which the author bears his scholarship and the ease with which he engages the reader's interest are virtues requiring no justification; and the breadth of his view makes this guide as valuable to the devotee of Chaucer or the Provençal poets as to the student beginning his reading in Dante.

R. BEMIS

THE ROAD TO THE WHITE HOUSE—*The Story of the 1964 Election by the Staff of the New York Times,* edited by Harold Faber (McGraw-Hill, $6.95). Still another account of the 1964 campaign (both pre- and post-convention). This one is a husky volume based largely on contemporary dispatches by the *Times* own reporters and columnists, stitched into a continuous narrative and fleshed out with explanatory material. The result has both the advantages and the disadvantages of the method: it contains just about everything the *Times* deemed fit to print on the subject (which was plenty), but lacks the slightest creative verve or sparkle of its own. The bias is there, of course (on a single page, the editors manage to sneer that the Illinois primary gave Goldwater "only 63 per cent" of the votes, while crediting Rockefeller with "at least a psychological blow" because, running unopposed in the West Virginia primary, he "won the approval of two-thirds of the voters"), but then it would hardly be the *Times* if it weren't. A certain discreet selectivity is also apparent: James Reston is quoted extensively, but the book tactfully omits his historic blooper of April 12, 1964, when he declared that Rockefeller "has about as much chance of losing the Republican nomination as he has of going broke." (Perhaps, that day, Mr. Reston was not speaking *ex cathedra.*) On those rare occasions when the mighty *Times* simply missed the story, the editors have quite properly remedied the oversight by cribbing from better-informed sources—as when, in recounting the early history of the draft-Goldwater movement, they devote three solid pages to quoting and paraphrasing an article in a small but knowledgeable journal called NATIONAL REVIEW.

W. A. RUSHER

THE LOST GENERATION OF 1914, by Reginald Pound (Coward-McCann, $5.00). Reginald Pound writes movingly of the consequences to Britain of allowing the brightest and best of her youth to volunteer for the First World War in pride and enthusiasm, rather than establish an orderly system of selective service which would have permitted the burdens of military service (and the losses) to be more evenly distributed among all who should have shared in them. "The draft" is an institution no more beloved in America today than it was in Britain fifty years ago, but Mr. Pound's tragic book reminds us that however unpopular it may be, selective service on a basis of reasonable equality for all is the only intelligent method of raising armies.

G. F. ELIOT

Yugoslavia

(Continued from p. 595)

on probation, this sudden softening on the part of Yogoslav authorities probably having to do with the fact that PEW, the international writers club, was meeting in Belgrade this week.

Mihajlov's testimony is so significant because he shows the palpitating heart of Russia under the carapace which the West, from Sartre to Cyrus Eaton, dutifully regards as live skin. We hear it said in learned circles that Communism was bad in its Stalinist version, but that the Soviet people accept the liberalizations brought about by Khrushchev. Other Kremlinologists explain that dialectical changes will soften up the regime in due course, if its leaders are not scared off by sword-rattling Westerners. Let's trade together—says the businessman. Let's play together—says the cultural exchanger.

Mihajlov's report, in its simplicity, is a heart-rending document because he and the people he describes are concerned with the here-and-now, not with the laws of dialectical modifications which satisfy our pundits. For example, Mihajlov writes that Solzhenitsyn, author of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich,* is the literary and moral hero of Russia because, just as Dostoievsky did in the *House of the Dead,* he expresses the tragedy and humor of the good-natured moujik, the eternal Russian, be he serf or kolkhoz worker. Mihajlov reports that not one member of the genuine Russian intelligentsia is a Marxist-Leninist and that the students, born and educated to become "Soviet men," have lost all respect for the dreary Communist ideology and its reactionary indoctrinators.

And so Mihajlov wrote about what he had seen and, like Djilas before him, went to prison.

Why have we not seen professorial protests and sit-ins at the Yugoslav Embassy in the Mihajlov case? Or full-page ads in the *New York Times* signed by the World Conscience and Dialogue Department? Perhaps because our intelligentsia is busy dialoguing with the very regimes against which Mihajlov and the men of his generation write, sing, and—protest. For our part, we should bow our heads to Professor Mihajlov and acknowledge a debt of gratitude for his manly courage.

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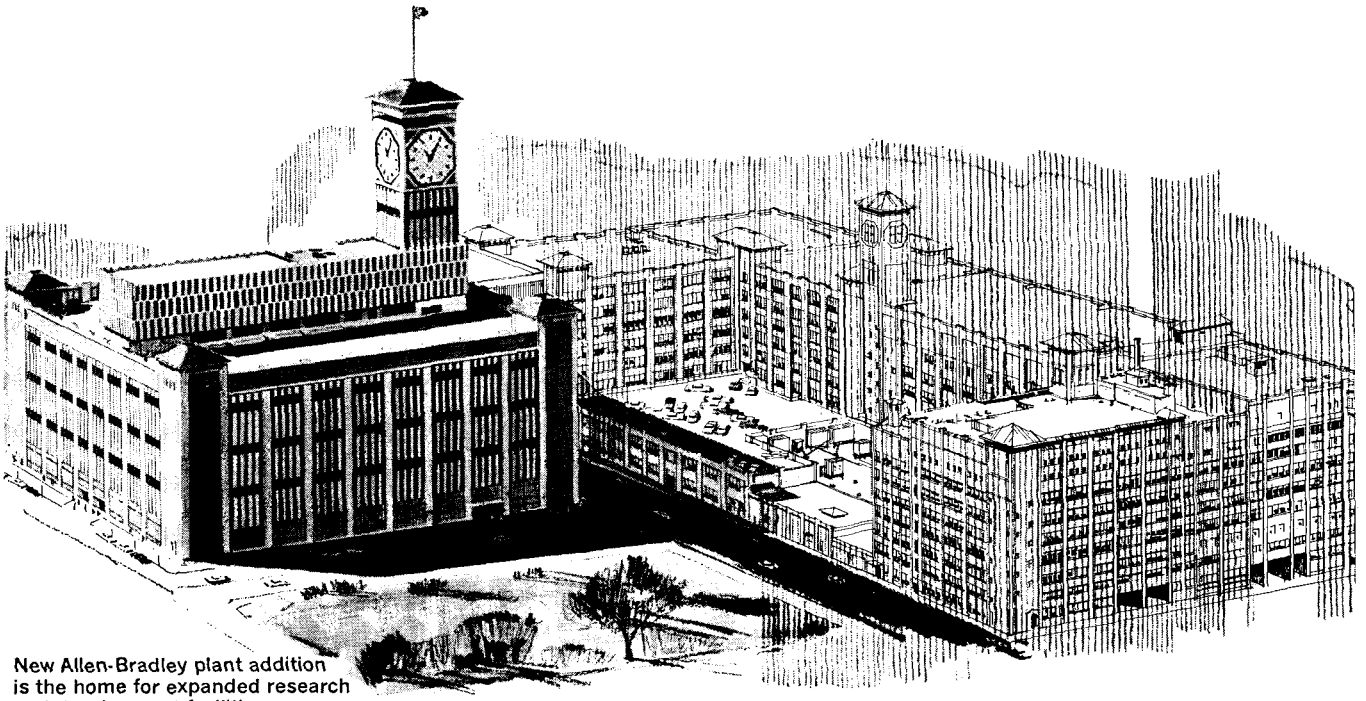


New Allen-Bradley plant addition is the home for expanded research and development facilities

■ Naturally, Allen-Bradley views this new plant addition of more than 1,000,000 square feet with pride—and for good reason! This structure was made possible by our customers' investment in "quality"—they may have paid slightly more than the current cut prices but—in return they were obtaining trouble free performance.

Allen-Bradley believes that people respect a quality product . . . people prefer a quality product . . . more and more people are beginning to understand that a cut price is no substitute for the value of a quality product. This basic belief flows throughout the entire Allen-Bradley organization: Scientists, engineers, craftsmen, salesmen—all are as of one mind in maintaining the highest standards of quality in product and service.

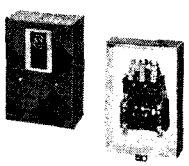
Typical of this coordinated dedication is the line of Allen-Bradley Series K motor control. Since its introduction three years ago, these starters have become firmly established as the most advanced motor control ever produced. Through painstaking research, creative design, efficient production, and exhaustive testing, the Series K control provides a measure of long operating life and trouble free performance never before thought possible.

Now with the expanded research, test, and development facilities in this new addition, Allen-Bradley has the tools to maintain its leadership in quality performance in everything that the company manufactures—a *value* that is worth much more to you than a cut price.

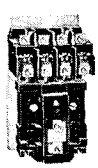
The units shown below are only a few of the quality products manufactured by Allen-Bradley. Your local Allen-Bradley sales representative or appointed distributor will be happy to give you more details. Or please write for condensed catalog on either motor control or electronic components: Allen-Bradley Co., 1210 South Third Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53204. In Canada: Allen-Bradley Canada Ltd., Galt, Ont., Export Office: 630 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y., U.S.A. 10017.

QUALITY PRODUCTS FROM ALLEN-BRADLEY

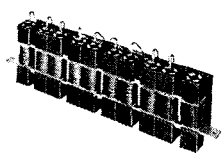
MOTOR CONTROL



Bulletin 709 Series K full voltage motor starter

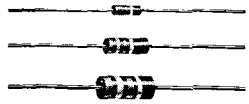


Bulletin 700 Type BR control relay

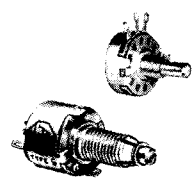


Bulletin 1650 shift register

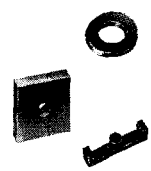
ELECTRONIC COMPONENTS



Fixed resistors



Variable resistors



Ferrite cores and permanent magnets

ALLEN-BRADLEY

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For The Record

All was not roses in June for international Communist enterprise. Consider the flaps. 1) Cancelation of Algiers Afro-Asian summit, a direct slap at Red China's Chou En-lai. . . . 2) Snafued plans for World Youth Festival which was to have been held in Algiers end of July. Now will be held behind Curtain, probably in Bulgaria (hardly a satellite showcase). . . . 3) Sudden veto of Fair Play for Cuba-sponsored junket to Cuba this summer by 100 Canadian students. Invitation was withdrawn suddenly—no reason given—increasing speculation of power struggle in Cuba centered about the little man who isn't there—Ernesto Che Guevara. . . . 4) Crackdown in Algiers on Communists by Col. Boumedienne. He booted out Robert Lamotte, correspondent of "L'Humanité," French CP paper, and has closed the Communist-edited "Alger Republicain." . . . (Ironic sidelight on Algerian coup: one reason Ben Bella's adherents didn't move into the streets night of June 18 was that they mistook Boumedienne's tanks for tanks used in recent filming of The Battle of Algiers). . . . 5) Inability of Communist-backed Latin American "Congress for Solidarity with Cuba and the Dominican Republic" to find a meeting site. They've been barred from Uruguay and Chile so far. . . . 6) Refusal of British authorities to give transit visas to U.S. delegates (Norman Rockwell, Willard Uphaus, etc.) to July 10 World Peace Council in Helsinki.

Private Democratic Party poll in New York indicates Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. is most popular among Democratic mayoralty entries; gives only him chance of beating GOP-Liberals' John Lindsay. . . . Teddy Kennedy, who'll carry out a number of speaking assignments in support of N.J. Gov. Richard Hughes this summer, plans to stay out of N.Y. contest. . . . Another entry in mayoralty race, according to "Worker," will be left-wing Jesse Gray, leader of last year's NYC rent strikes. . . . Party-lining National Guardian now devoting approximately 80 per cent of its space to peace—anti-Vietnam war operations—a shift away from concentration on civil rights.

House Republican Policy Committee (as expected) has come out against repeal of Sect. 14 (b) of Taft-Hartley and for a number of amendments to T-H that would protect rights of individual union members. . . . Nation's Business reports governors of the nineteen right-to-work states favor r-to-w. . . . Preliminary estimates are that medicare bill, when it becomes operational, will mean addition of 7,000 federal employees. . . . Miami authorities aware that many longtime Cuban residents in U.S. are posing as Castro-refugees to get special city and federal aid, medical care, welfare, etc.

Post-Stalin Russia: Soviet officials have closed down the Russian Orthodox

Evening Standard, London — Ben Roth Agency

The Commonwealth Conference

Seminary at Lutsk, which leaves only three Orthodox seminaries in the USSR. Score since 1958: 54 monasteries shut down, five seminaries. . . . Official Russian figures show only ten per cent of peasant children in Soviet Union go on to college as against 82 per cent of children of white collar workers. . . . Russia (according to its own figures) produced 185,000 cars in 1964—what U.S. companies were turning out in 1910.

Going the rounds of Catholic conservative circles: "Have you heard about the Pope? He's praying for an early death—he wants to die a Catholic."

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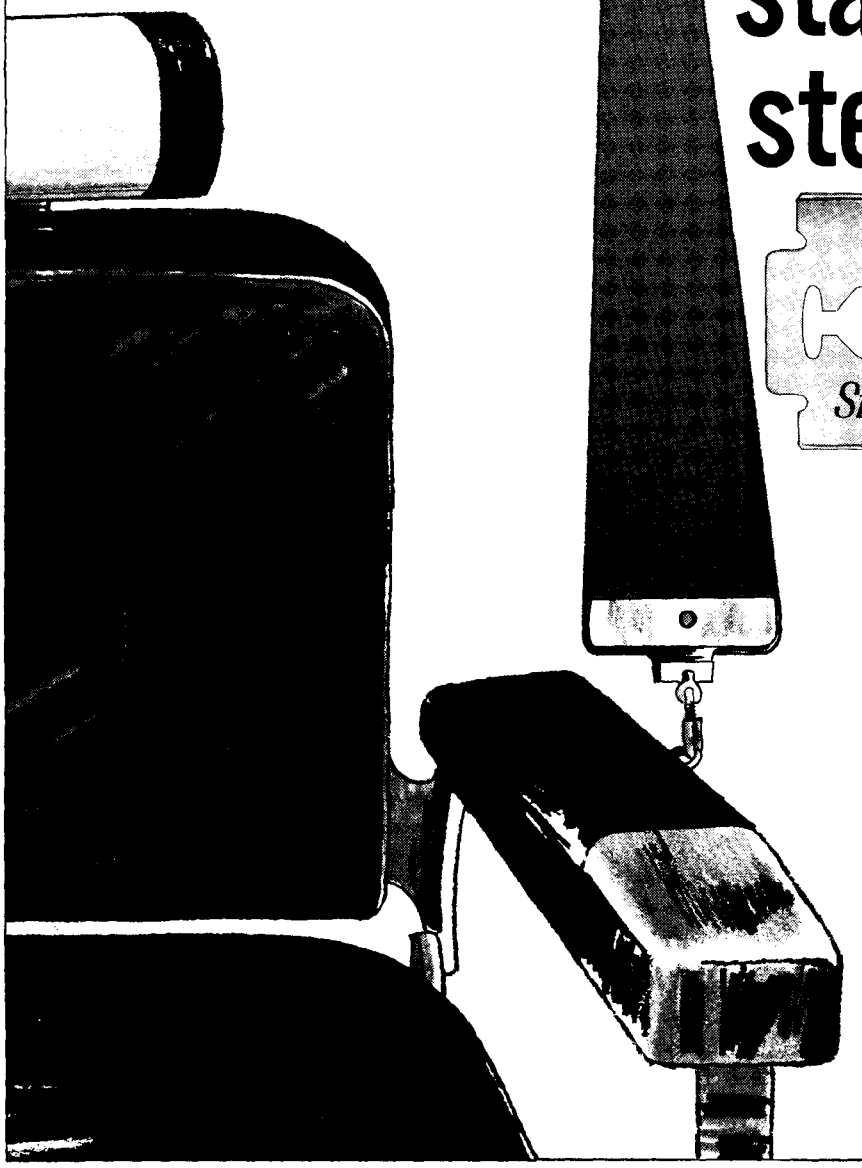
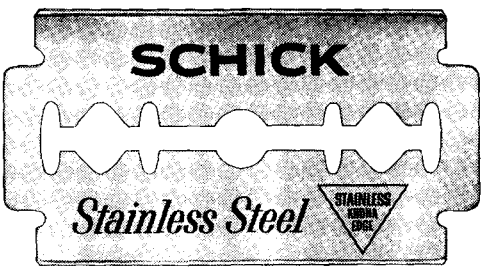
New Improved!

The Schick Thousand Foot Strop improves the stainless steel blade





An extra thousand feet of stropping, in an exclusive machine, has improved this great stainless steel blade. It is smoother, sharper– assures consistent quality blade after blade! Try this new improved Schick Double Edge Blade.

© 1965 Schick Safety Razor Co., Div. of Eversharp, Inc.

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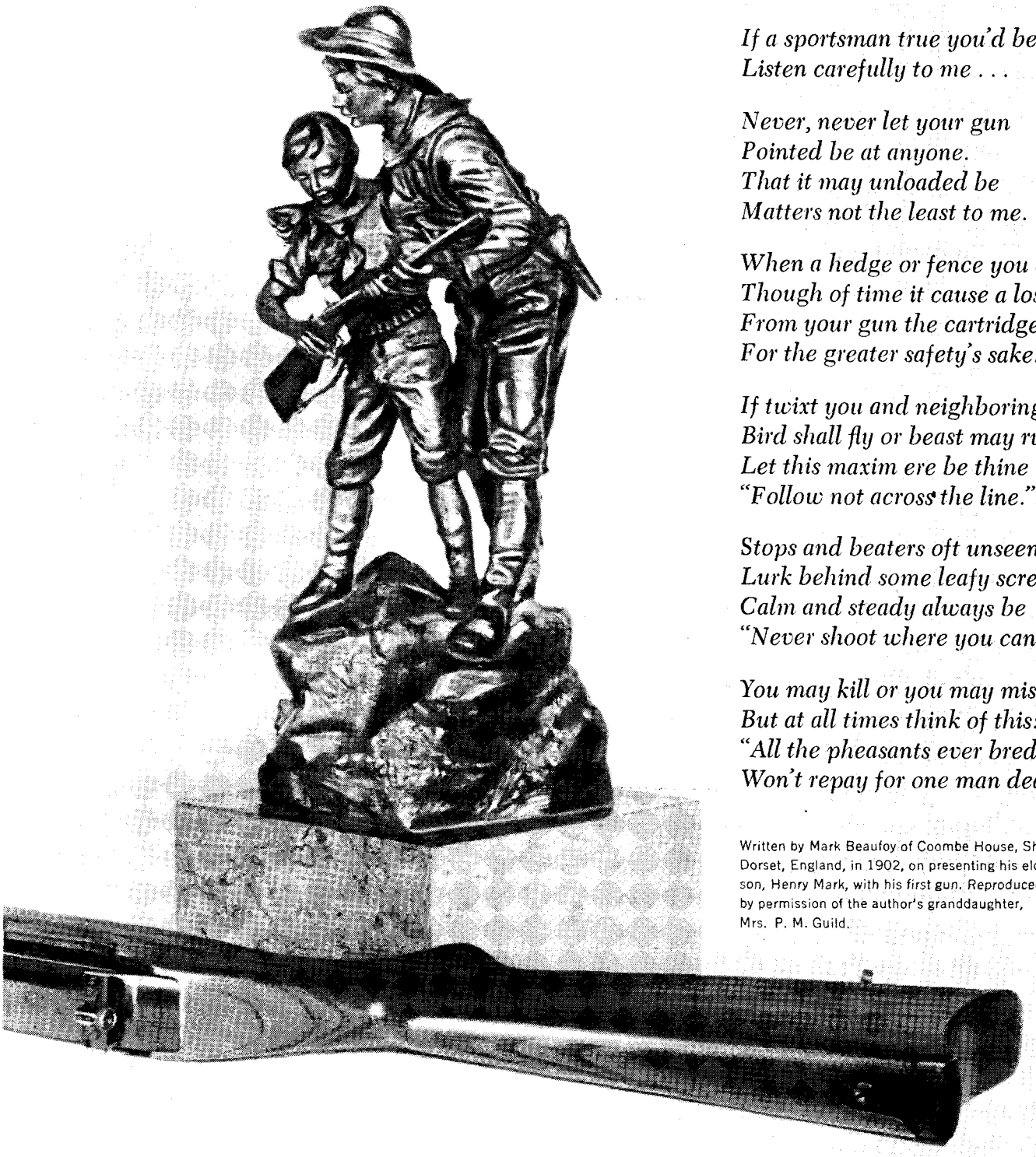
A Father's Advice



If a sportsman true you'd be
Listen carefully to me . . .

Never, never let your gun
Pointed be at anyone.
That it may unloaded be
Matters not the least to me.

When a hedge or fence you cross
Though of time it cause a loss
From your gun the cartridge take
For the greater safety's sake.

If twixt you and neighboring gun
Bird shall fly or beast may run
Let this maxim ere be thine
"Follow not across the line."

Stops and beaters oft unseen
Lurk behind some leafy screen.
Calm and steady always be
"Never shoot where you can't see."

You may kill or you may miss
But at all times think of this:
"All the pheasants ever bred
Won't repay for one man dead."

Written by Mark Beaufoy of Coombe House, Shaftsbury, Dorset, England, in 1902, on presenting his eldest son, Henry Mark, with his first gun. Reproduced here by permission of the author's granddaughter, Mrs. P. M. Guild.

STURM, RUGER & Company, Inc.

Southport, Connecticut, U.S.A.

Manufacturers of Sporting Firearms for the Responsible Citizen

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